LENIN AND GORKY

LETTERS REMINISCENCES ARTICLES

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It contains correspondence between Lenin and Gorky and other material revealing their long-standing friendship.

В. И. ЛЕНИН и А. М. ГОРЬКИЙ

Письма. Воспоминания. Документы.

На английском языке

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CONTENTS

I. Correspondence Between V. I. Lenin and A. M. Gorky and Some Letters by V. I. Lenin and A. M. Gorky to Third Persons

	Page
A. M. Gorky to V. I. Lenin, June-July 1905	15
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, August 14, 1907	16
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, January 9, 1908	17
From V. I. Lenin's Letter to A. V. Lunacharsky, January 13, 1908	18
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky and M. F. Andreyeva, January 15, 1908	19
From V. I. Lenin's Letter to His Mother, January 22, 1908	21
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, February 2, 1908	22
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, February 7, 1908	24
V. I. Lenin to A. V. Lunacharsky, February 13, 1908	27
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, February 13, 1908	29
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, February 25, 1908	31
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, first half of March 1908	36
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, March 16, 1908	37
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, March 24, 1908	38
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, first half of April 1908	41
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, April 16, 1908	42
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, April 19, 1908	43
V. I. Lenin to M. F. Andreyeva, end of April 1908	45
From V. I. Lenin's Letter to M. A. Ulyanova, November 17, 1908	46
From A. M. Gorky's Letter to K. P. Pyatnitsky, prior to November 9, 1908	47
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, November 16, 1909	48
From A. M. Gorky's Letter to V. I. Lenin, after November 16, 1909	50
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, not earlier than November 20, 1909	51

V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, April 11, 1910 54
V. I. Lenin to M. A. Ulyanova, July 1, 1910 . . 58
V. I. Lenin to M. F. Andreyeva, August 14, 1910 59
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, November 14, 1910 . 60
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, November 22, 1910 62
A. M. Gorky to A. V. Amfiteatrov, not earlier than November 25, 1910 64
From A. M. Gorky's Letter to A. V. Amfiteatrov, after December 18, 1910 65
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, January 3, 1911 . 66
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, end of April 1911 70
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, May 27, 1911 . . 72
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, September 15, 1911 74
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, February 1912 . . 76
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, February-March 1912 . 77
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, middle of March 1912 78
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, August 1, 1912 79
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, prior to August 25, 1912 . 81
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, beginning of October 1912 . 83
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, October 17, 1912 84
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, second half of October 1912 . . 86
From V. I. Lenin's Letter to the Editor of *Pravda*, after November 2, 1912 87
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, December 22 or 23, 1912 . 88
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, prior to January 8, 1913 90
From V. I. Lenin's Letter to L. B. Kamenev, January 8, 1913. 93
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, January 21, 1913 94
From A. M. Gorky's Letter to an Unidentified Person, before January 25, 1913 95
A. M. Gorky to V. I. Lenin, January 25, 1913 . . 96
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, after January 25, 1913 98
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, between February 15 and 25, 1913. 101
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, after March 6, 1913 104
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, not earlier than May 9-10, 1913. 105
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, prior to June 22, 1913 . . 107
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, not later than June 22, 1913 . 108
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, July 25, 1913 . . 110
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, September 30, 1913 112
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, beginning of November 1913 114
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, November 13 or 14, 1913 . 115
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, November 14 or 15, 1913 . 119
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, second half of November 1913 . 120
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, January 11, 1916 123

V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, prior to February 8, 1916 . . 124
A. M. Gorky to V. I. Lenin, middle of July 1918 125
A. M. Gorky and M. F. Andreyeva to V. I. Lenin, August 31, 1918 126
A. M. Gorky to V. I. Lenin, December 5, 1918 127
A. M. Gorky to V. I. Lenin, not later than December 25, 1918 128
A. M. Gorky to V. I. Lenin, January 1919 129
A. M. Gorky to V. I. Lenin, March 6, 1919 . . 131
V. I. Lenin to L. B. Krasin, March 12, 1919 132
A. M. Gorky to V. I. Lenin, April 5, 1919 . . 133
A. M. Gorky to V. I. Lenin, April 12, 1919 134
V. I. Lenin to the Orel Gubernia Executive Committee, April 12, 1919 135
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, April 14, 1919 . 136
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, July 5, 1919 . . 137
V. I. Lenin to Nizhni-Novgorod, July 8, 1919 138
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, July 8, 1919 139
V. I. Lenin's Note to L. B. Kamenev, July 8 or 9, 1919 . . 140
From V. I. Lenin's Letter to N. K. Krupskaya, July 9, 1919. 141
From V. I. Lenin's Telegram to N. K. Krupskaya, July 10, 1919 142
From V. I. Lenin's Letter to N. K. Krupskaya, July 15, 1909. 143
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, July 18, 1919 144
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, July 31, 1919 145
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, September 15, 1919 . . . 149
V. I. Lenin to M. F. Andreyeva, September 18, 1919 152
A. M. Gorky, A. Benois and K. Petrov-Vodkin to V. I. Lenin, November 17, 1919 153
A. M. Gorky to V. I. Lenin, January 29 or 30, 1920 155
A. M. Gorky to V. I. Lenin, March 5, 1920 157
A. M. Gorky to V. I. Lenin, prior to March 19, 1920 159
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, March 19, 1920 161
A. M. Gorky to V. I. Lenin, April 2, 1920 162
A. M. Gorky to V. I. Lenin, April 3, 1920 165
A. M. Gorky to the Council of People's Commissars, not later than April 29, 1920 166
A. M. Gorky to V. I. Lenin, not earlier than 2nd and not later than 14th May, 1920 167
A. M. Gorky to V. I. Lenin, May 22, 1920 168
From A. M. Gorky's Letter to V. I. Lenin, June 26, 1920 . 169
A. M. Gorky to V. I. Lenin, July 17, 1920 171
A. M. Gorky to the Council of People's Commissars, August 17, 1920 173

From A. M. Gorky's Letter to V. I. Lenin, September 24, 1920. 175
A. M. Gorky to V. I. Lenin, September 27, 1920 176
A. M. Gorky's Memo to V. I. Lenin, not later than October 21, 1920 177
From V. I. Lenin's Note to Gosizdat, October 21, 1920 . . . 178
A. M. Gorky to the Council of People's Commissars, not later than October 21, 1920 179
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Lezhava and M. N. Pokrovsky, October 21, 1920 181
A. M. Gorky to the Council of People's Commissars, not later than October 21, 1920 182
A. M. Gorky to the All-Russia Scientists' Welfare Commission, not later than October 21, 1920 184
V. I. Lenin to the Presidium of the Petrograd Soviet, October 21, 1920 188
A. M. Gorky to V. I. Lenin, not later than November 1, 1920. 189
V. I. Lenin's Note to the Narrow C.P.C., November 1, 1920. 190
A. M. Gorky to V. I. Lenin, November 2, 1920 191
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Lezhava, November 15, 1920 193
A. M. Gorky to V. I. Lenin, November 21, 1920 194
A. M. Gorky to V. I. Lenin, Chairman of the C.P.C., March 29, 1921 196
V. I. Lenin to V. R. Menzhinsky, June 24, 1921 . . 197
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, August 9, 1921 198
V. I. Lenin's Notes Made During a Conversation with A. M. Gorky, September or October, 1921 199
A. M. Gorky to V. I. Lenin, October 8, 1921 200
A. M. Gorky to V. I. Lenin, October 10, 1921 202
V. I. Lenin to A. M. Gorky, December 6, 1921 203
A. M. Gorky to V. I. Lenin, December 25, 1921 204

II. V. I. Lenin about A. M. Gorky

From the Article "Demonstrations Have Begun" 209
From N. K. Krupskaya's Letter to V. F. Gurvich-Kozhevnikova ("Natasha"), October 24, 1902 211
From a Letter to R. S. Zemlyachka, December 13, 1904 . . 211
Extract from the *Vossische Zeitung* Concerning the Movement of Students at the Polytechnic in Riga, early February 1905 212
From the Article "Trepov in the Saddle" 212
From the Article "Before the Storm" 213
To M. I. Ulyanova, December 3-4, 1909 214
The Bourgeois Press Fable About the Expulsion of Gorky 215
From *Note of a Publicist.* I. "The 'Platform' of Adherents and Defenders of Otzovism" 216

From a Letter to A. G. Shlyapnikov, October 31, 1914 . . . 220
To the Author of "The Song of the Falcon" 220
From a Letter to A. G. Shlyapnikov, later than October 3, 1916 221
From a Letter to Inessa Armand, December 18, 1916 222
To M. N. Pokrovsky, December 21, 1916 . . . 223
To M. N. Pokrovsky, January 3, 1917 224
Letters From Afar, "Fourth Letter. How to Achieve Peace" . . 225
From a Report of a Lecture: "The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party in the Russian Revolution" 231
To A. V. Lunacharsky, January 18, 1920 231
A Note to the Petrograd Soviet, April 22, 1920 232
To M. N. Pokrovsky, May 5, 1920 232
To M. N. Pokrovsky, June 20, 1920 . . 233
To B. G. Kaplun, June 20, 1920 233
Draft Decision for the Politbureau of the C.C. R.C.P.(B.) on Maxim Gorky's Articles in the Journal *The Communist International*, July 31, 1920 233
A Note to S. M. Manucharyants, January 28, 1921 234
From a Note to N. A. Semashko, not before March 16, 1921 234
To Y. A. Litkens, May 6, 1921 235
To Y. A. Litkens, May 19, 1921 235
From a Letter to Y. Kh. Lutovinov, May 30, 1921 . . . 236
A Note to I. A. Teodorovich, July 28, 1921 236
To V. M. Molotov for the Members of the Politbureau of the C.C. R.C.P.(B.), December 12, 1921 237
From a Note to N. P. Gorbunov, February 23, 1922 . . 237
To N. I. Bukharin, September 7, 1922 238
N. K. Krupskaya to A. M. Gorky, January 28, 1924 . 238
N. K. Krupskaya to A. M. Gorky, May 25, 1930 239

III. A. M. Gorky About V. I. Lenin

From a Letter to I. P. Ladyzhnikov, second half of December 1905 243
From a Letter to I. P. Ladyzhnikov, not later than December 6, 1907 243
From a Letter to A. V. Lunacharsky, January 1908 243
From a Letter to I. P. Ladyzhnikov, early January 1908 . . . 244
To A. V. Lunacharsky, January 1908 244
From a Letter to A. V. Lunacharsky, January 1908 245
From a Letter to I. P. Ladyzhnikov, end of January 1908 . . 245
From a Letter to N. Y. Burenin, between April 10 and April 16, 1908 245
From a Letter to A. N. Tikhonov, not earlier than September 1911 246

From a Letter to M. N. Pokrovsky, September 29, 1916 . . 246
From a Letter to M. N. Pokrovsky, October 25, 1916 . . 247
From the Appeal to the People and to the Working Intellectuals, November 29, 1918 247
From a Speech at the Organisational Meeting of the Soviet Encyclopaedia Publication Commission, 1919-1921 247
To M. A. Peshkov, end of March 1920 248
[On V. I. Lenin] 248
From the Article "Vladimir Ilyich Lenin" 250
From a Letter to H. G. Wells, May 22, 1920 . . . 251
To I. G. Rudakov, end of 1920 252
To the Director of the Lenin Institute, November 25, 1923 . 252
From a Letter to El Madani, January 27, 1924 253
From a Letter to M. F. Andreyeva, February 4, 1924 . . 253
From a Letter to Y. P. Peshkova, February 11, 1924 254
From a Letter to F. A. Stepun, February 1924 255
V. I. Lenin 255
From an Interview Given to the Correspondent of *České Slovo*, February 12, 1924 296
From a Letter to Romain Rolland, March 3, 1924 . 297
From a Letter to El Madani, March 15, 1924 297
To an Unidentified Addressee, between 1924 and 1927 . . 299
From a Letter to El Madani, April 12, 1924 299
To M. P. Pavlovich, December 29, 1925 300
From a Letter to K. G. Kolganov, September 15, 1926 . . . 301
From a Letter to I. I. Skvortsov-Stepanov, October 15, 1927. 301
To L. S. Danovsky, first half of November 1927 302
To S. B. Bruneller, March 23, 1928 303
From a Letter to L. Anisimov (A. K. Voronsky), March 17, 1928 303
From the Article "On the Glorified and the 'Beginners'" . 304
From the Article "White Emigré Literature" 304
From a Speech at a Sitting of the Plenum of the Moscow Soviet, May 31, 1928 304
From a Speech at a Ceremonial Meeting of the Moscow City Council of Trade Unions, June 5, 1928 . . 305
From the Article "The Industrialisation Loan" 306
From the Article "Our Achievements" 307
From a Talk with Moscow Worker Correspondents at the Working Women's Department of the Moscow Committee of the R.C.P.(B.), June 14, 1928 307
From a Speech in Answer to Greetings 309
From the Article "To the 'Mechanical Citizens' of the U.S.S.R.". 309
From the Series of Sketches "Through the Soviet Union" 309

From a Letter to N. K. Krupskaya, March 11, 1929 310
From the Article "The Working Class Must Rear Its Own Masters of Culture" 311
From the Article "Industrialisation Day" 311
From the Article "To the Pioneers" 312
From the Article "Odds and Ends" 312
From An Untitled Article 312
From a Letter to A. B. Khalatov, between end of November and December 16, 1929 313
To N. K. Krupskaya, May 16, 1930 . 313
To N. K. Krupskaya, June 13, 1930 315
From a Letter to Romain Rolland, November 2, 1930 . 316
From the Reply to a Questionnaire of the Magazine *VU* 316
From a Letter to N. K. Krupskaya, January 29, 1931 . . . 317
From the Article "To the Shock Workers of the City of Lenin" 317
From a Talk with Young Shock-Worker Entrants into Literature, June 11, 1931 319
From the Article "To Work!" 319
From the Article "On the 'Poet's Library'" 320
From a Letter to A. N. Afinogenov, after April 12, 1933 320
From the Article "To Be Vehicles of a Great Truth" 321
From the Article "On Plays" 322
From Comments on the Manuscripts for Volume One of *A History of the Civil War* 322
From a Letter to N. K. Krupskaya, February 27, 1934 . 323
From the Article "The Truth of Socialism" 323
From the Article "To Know the Past Is Essential" 324
Notes 324
From A. D. Speransky's Article "The Last Days of A. M. Gorky's Life" 326

Supplement

Reminiscences
N. K. Krupskaya, *Lenin and Gorky* 329
M. Ulyanova, *Lenin and Gorky* (From Reminiscences) 332
M. Andreyeva, *Encounters with Lenin* 334
N. N. Nakoryakov, *At the Fifth Party Congress* . . . 340
From a Speech by A. V. Lunacharsky "Maxim Gorky" 347
M. Glyasser, *Lenin and Gorky* 349
B. Malkin, *V. I. Lenin and M. Gorky* (From Reminiscences) 351
Y. P. Peshkova, *Vladimir Ilyich Visits A. M. Gorky in October 1920* 356

Konstantin Fedin, *From Reminiscences of Gorky* (Extracts) . . 358
Vsevolod Ivanov, *Meetings with Maxim Gorky* (An Extract) 362
Vladimir Bonch-Bruyevich, *Gorky and the Organisation of the S.W.C.* (From reminiscences) 364
A. K. Voronsky, *Meetings and Talks with Maxim Gorky* (From Reminiscences) 372
Notes 378
Index of Periodicals . . . 409
Name Index 410

I

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN V. I. LENIN AND A. M. GORKY

AND SOME LETTERS BY V. I. LENIN AND A. M. GORKY TO THIRD PERSONS

A. M. GORKY TO V. I. LENIN

To Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov

Dear Comrade,

Will you kindly, on reading the enclosed letter, forward it—as quickly as possible—to Gapon.[1]

I would have liked very much to write you about the motives which made me write to Gapon *in this way*, but unfortunately I haven't a minute to spare.

I wish you all the best.

Oh yes—considering you the leader of the Party without being a member of it myself,[2] and relying wholly on your tact and intelligence, I leave it you—should you for reasons of party policy find the letter inappropriate—to keep it without forwarding it on to the addressee.

A. Peshkov

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Written in June-July 1905

Sent from St. Petersburg to Geneva

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V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

Wednesday, August 14, 1907

Dear Alexei Maximovich,

We arrived here today with Meshkovsky and tomorrow we are going to Stuttgart. It is very, very important that you, too, should be there.[3] For one thing, you were appointed officially by the C.C. (with a consultative voice). Secondly, it would be very good to see you, as it may be a long time before we meet. Thirdly, it is only a matter of a day's journey from where you are and it will last *not more than* a week (it is not London!). It will not be at all late if you leave on Sunday or even Monday.

In short, everything is in favour of your coming. I wish you would, health permitting. Don't miss this opportunity of seeing the international socialists *at work*—it is something quite, quite different from a general acquaintance and mere chatting. The next congress will not be held for another three years. Besides, we shall never be able to discuss all our business by mail unless we meet. In short, come without fail.[4] *Au revoir*!

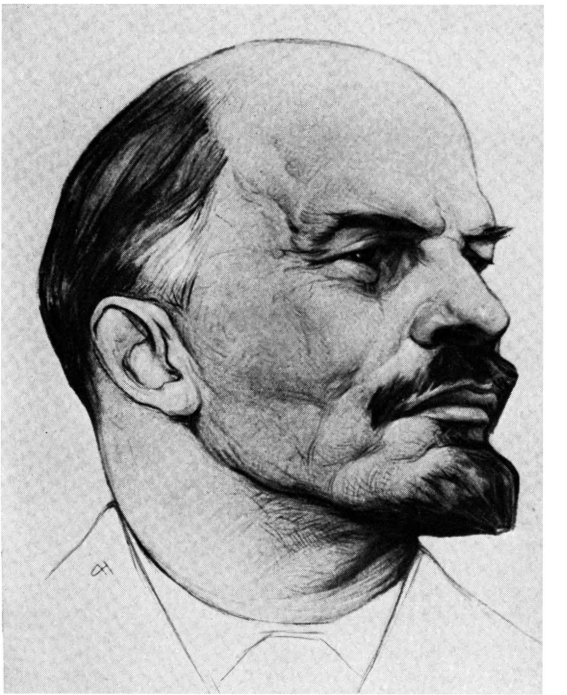
My best regards to Maria Fyodorovna.

Yours,
N. Lenin

Sent to Capri

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*.
Vol. 34, p. 369



V. I. Lenin
Drawing by N. A. Andreyev
The Central Lenin Museum

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

January 9, 1908, Geneva

Dear Al. M.,

My wife and I arrived here a few days ago. We both caught cold on the way. We are settling down here just anyhow, for the time being temporarily, so everything is bad. I was very glad to have your letter: it would really be fine to make a trip to Capri! I shall definitely find time one of these days to visit you. At present, unfortunately, it is impossible. We have come here with the commission to establish a newspaper: to transfer *Proletary*[5] here from Finland. We haven't decided yet finally whether we shall choose Geneva or some other city. In any case we must hurry and we have our hands full with the new arrangements. It would be nice to pay you a visit in the spring or summer, when things here are well under way! What is the best time for Capri?

How is your health? How do you feel? Does your work go well? I heard while passing through Berlin that you and Lunacharsky have been touring Italy[6] and, in particular, have been in Rome. Do you like Italy? Do you meet many Russians?

It would be best for me to visit you when you are not engaged in anything big, so that we can wander about at leisure and chat together.

Have you received my book (the first volume of collected articles for twelve years)[7]? I asked for it to be sent to you from St. Petersburg.

My very best regards to Maria Fyodorovna. *Au revoir*!

Yours,
N. Lenin

My address is: Mr. Wl. *Oulianoff*,
17, Rue des deux Ponts, 17, (chez Küpfer), Genève.

Sent to Capri

First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany I*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 34, p. 372

From V. I. LENIN'S LETTER TO A. V. LUNACHARSKY

January 13, 1908

I hear you had a good trip with Gorky.

Write and let us know what you are working on. We count on you both as a contributor to *Proletary* and as a lecturer. You will not let us down, will you?

Where is Gorky? I wrote to him in Capri (Villa Blaesus). I wonder whether it will reach him.

Yours,
Lenin

Sent from Geneva to Florence

First published in 1934
in *Lenin Miscellany XXVI*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*,
Vol. 43, p. 180

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY AND M. F. ANDREYEVA

January 15, 1908

Dear A. M. and M. F.,

I received your express letter today. The idea of dropping in on you on Capri is delightfully tempting, dash it! You have painted such an attractive picture that I have definitely made up my mind to come out, and I shall try to bring my wife with me. Only I am still uncertain about the date; at present I must give all my attention to *Proletary*, it must be *established* and work got going smoothly at all costs. That will take a month or two at least. But it must be done. By the spring we shall find ourselves drinking the white wine of Capri, looking at Naples and chatting with you. Incidentally, I have begun to study Italian and, as a learner, I pounced at once on the address written by Maria Fyodorovna: *expresso* instead of *espresso*! Let's have that dictionary!

As for the shipment of *Proletary*, you have brought it on your own head by writing. You won't be able to wriggle away from us now so easily! A heap of commissions have to be given straight away to M. F.:

1) To find the secretary of the union of steamship employees (there must be such a union!) serving on steamers that maintain communications with Russia.

2) To find out from him where the ships *come from* and *go to*, and *how often*. He must arrange *weekly shipments* for us without fail. How much will that cost? He must find someone for us who is *punctual* (are there punctual men among the Italians?). Will they want an address in Russia (in Odessa, say, for delivering the newspapers or could small quantities be kept *temporarily* with some Italian innkeeper in Odessa? This is *extremely important* for us.

3) If M. F. cannot take care of this herself—making all the arrangements, finding the necessary people, instructing

them, checking, etc., let her be sure to put us in touch with this secretary—we shall then write to him directly.

This thing is urgent. In two or three weeks' time we hope to publish *Proletary* here and it will have to be dispatched at once.[8]

Well—until we meet on Capri! Now, A. M., take care of yourself.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

Sent from Geneva to Capri

First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany I*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*,
Vol. 34, pp. 373-74

From V. I. LENIN'S LETTER TO HIS MOTHER

January 22, 1908

About Capri—as soon as I arrived I found a letter from Gorky, who very insistently invites me there. Nadya and I have made up our minds to accept that invitation and take a trip to Italy (in Capri *now* the narcissi are in bloom, so the Gorkys write), but not yet. All our affairs must be settled first and then we can travel....

Sent from Geneva
to St. Petersburg

First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsia* No. 11

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 37, p. 374

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

February 2, 1908

Dear A. M.,

I am writing to you about two matters.

Firstly, about the Semashko affair. If you do *not* know him personally, it is not worth while your intervening in the matter described below. If you do know him, it *is* worth while.

L. Martov made a "statement" in the Berne Social-Democratic newspaper to the effect that Semashko was not a delegate at the Stuttgart Congress, but merely a *journalist*. Not a word about his being a member of the Social-Democratic Party. This is a vile attack by a Menshevik[9] on a Bolshevik who is in prison. I have already sent my official statement as the representative of the R.S.D.L.P. in the International Bureau.[10] If you know Semashko personally, or knew him in Nizhni-Novgorod, you should write *without fail* to the same newspaper saying that you are shocked at Martov's statement, that you are personally acquainted with Semashko as a Social-Democrat, and that you are sure that he is not implicated in the affairs inflated by the international police. I am quoting below the newspaper's address and the full text of Martov's statement, which M. F. will translate for you. Write to the editors yourself in Russian, and ask M. F. to append a German translation.

The second matter. All three of us have come together here now, having been sent from Russia to establish *Proletary* (Bogdanov, I and one "Praktik"[11]). Everything is in running order, in a day or two we shall publish an announcement. You are on our list of contributors. Drop us a line as to whether you could give us something for the first issues (something after the manner of your "*notes on philistinism*"[12]

in *Novaya Zhizn*,[13] or fragments from a story[14] you are writing, etc.).

All the very best. Best regards to M. F.!

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

The following was published in *Berner Tagwacht* (address of the editorial office: Kapellenstrasse 6, Bern. Social-Democratic organ) No. 24, January 30, 1908.

"*Erklärung.* In einigen Zeitungen stand zu lesen, dass der unlängst in Genf verhaftete D-r Semaschko ein Delegierter der Genfer Gruppe der russischen Sozialdemokratie in Stuttgart gewesen sei. Dem gegenüber erkläre ich, dass D-r Semaschko nicht Mitglied der russischen Section auf dem genannten Kongresse war und kein Delegiertenmandat besessen hat. Er war dort nur als Journalist tätig.

"*L. Martoff*, Delegierter der russischen Sozialdemokratie auf dem Stuttgarter Kongress."*

That's all. The disgusting thing about it is that Social-Democracy indirectly, as it were, shakes the dust off its feet, and repudiates Semashko!

Sent from Geneva to Capri

First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany I*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 34, pp. 377-78

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* "*Statement.* Some newspapers reported that Dr. Semashko, recently arrested in Geneva, was a delegate in Stuttgart of the Russian Social-Democratic group in Geneva. In contradiction to this, I declare that Dr. Semashko was not a member of the Russian section at the said Congress and had no delegate's mandate. He was there only in the capacity of journalist.

"*L. Martoff*, delegate of Russian Social-Democracy at the Stuttgart Congress."—*Ed*

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

February 7, 1908

Dear A. M.,

I shall consult A. A. about your statement; since you did not know him personally I think it is not worth while publishing it.[15]

To what Bolshevik symposium have you sent the article on cynicism?[16] I am puzzled, because people write to me a good deal about Bolshevik symposia, but I have never heard of this one. I hope it is to the St. Petersburg one. Send me a copy of your letter to Sienkiewicz,[17] if you have one (indicating *when* it was sent)—but Sienkiewicz will no doubt publish it since it is an opinion poll.

Your plans are very interesting and I should like to come. But, you will agree, I cannot very well throw up the Party job, which needs organising immediately. It is difficult to get a new job going. I can't throw it up. We shall have it going in about a couple of months or so, and then I shall be free to tear myself away for a week or two.

I agree with you a thousand times about the need for *systematically* combating political decadence, renegadism, whining, and so forth. I do not think that there would be any disagreement between us about "society" and the "youth". The significance of the intellectuals in our Party is declining; news comes from all sides that the intelligentsia is *fleeing* the Party. And a good riddance to these scoundrels. The Party is purging itself from petty-bourgeois dross. The workers are having a bigger say in things. The role of the worker-professionals is increasing. All this is wonderful, and I am sure that your "kicks" must be understood in the same sense.

Now—how are we to exert influence, what exactly should our literature be? Symposia *or Proletary*? Of course, the easier thing is to reply: not *or*, but *and*—the reply will be irreproachable but of little practical value. We must have

legal symposia, of course; our comrades in St. Petersburg are working on them by the sweat of the brow, and I, too, have been working on them after London, while sitting in Kwakalla.[18] If possible, *all* efforts should be made to support them and continue these symposia.

But my experience from London up to November 1907 (half a year!) has convinced me that no *systematic* legal literature can now be produced. I am convinced that what the *Party* now needs is a regular political organ, consistently and vigorously pursuing a policy of struggle against disintegration and despondency—a *Party* organ, a political newspaper. Many people in Russia do not believe in a foreign-based organ. But this is an error, and our collegium knew what it was doing when it decided to transfer *Proletary* here. That it is difficult to organise, set it up and run it—goes without saying. But it *has* to be done and it will be done.

Why shouldn't literary criticism be included in it? Too little space? I don't know, of course, your system of working. Unfortunately, when we have met, we spent more time chattering than talking business. If you don't like writing small, short, periodical (weekly or fortnightly) articles, if you prefer to work on *big* things—then, of course, I would not advise you to interrupt it. It will be of greater benefit!

If, however, you are inclined towards joint work in a political newspaper—why not continue and make a regular feature of the genre which you began with "Notes on Philistinism" in *Novaya Zhizn*, and began very well, in my opinion? I wrote to you about this "with an ulterior motive" in one of the first letters, thinking: if it appeals to him, he will seize on the idea. And it seems to me that in your last letter you are seizing on it after a fashion. Or am I mistaken? How great would be the gain, both for Party work through the newspaper, which would not be so one-sided as it previously was, and for literary work, which would be more closely linked with Party work, with systematic, continuous influence on the Party! There should be not "forays", but a solid onslaught all along the line, without stops or gaps; Bolshevik Social-Democrats should not only attack all kinds of duffers piecemeal, but should conquer all and everything as the Japanese conquered Manchuria from the Russians.

Of the three subjects that you mention for the symposia (philosophy, literary criticism, and current tactics) one-and-a-half would go into the political newspaper, into

Proletary, viz.: current tactics and a good half of the literary criticism. Ah, there is nothing good about all those special, long articles of literary criticism scattered through various semi-Party and non-Party periodicals! We should try to take a step away from this old, intellectualist, stuffed-shirt manner, that is, we should link literary criticism, too, *more closely* with Party work, with Party leadership. That is what the adult Social-Democratic Parties in Europe are doing. That is what we should do, too, without being afraid of the difficulties of the first steps of collective newspaper activity in this field.

Large works of literary criticism—in books, partially in periodicals.

Systematic, periodic articles, in the concert of a political newspaper, linked with Party work, in the spirit of what was begun by *Novaya Zhizn*—tell me, have you any inclination towards this, or not?

The third subject is philosophy. I am fully aware of my unpreparedness in this sphere, which prevents me from speaking about it in public. But, as a rank-and-file Marxist, I read attentively our Party philosophers, I read attentively the empirio-monist Bogdanov and the empirio-critics Bazarov, Lunacharsky, etc.[19]—and *they* drive me to give *all* my sympathy *to Plekhanov*! It takes physical strength to keep oneself from being carried away by the mood, as Plekhanov does! His tactics are the height of ineptitude and baseness. In philosophy, however, he upholds the right cause. I am for materialism against "empirio-" etc.

Can, and should, philosophy be linked with the trend of Party work? With Bolshevism? I think this should not be done at the present time. Let our Party philosophers put in some more work on theory for a while, let them dispute and ... *seek a meeting of minds*. For the time being, I would stand for *such* philosophical disputes as those between materialists and "empirios" being separated from integral Party work.

I look forward to your reply, meanwhile I must conclude.

Yours,
Lenin

Sent from Geneva to Capri
First published in 1934
in *Lenin Miscellany XXVI*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*,
Vol. 34, pp. 379-82

V. I. LENIN TO A. V. LUNACHARSKY

To Anat. Vas.

February 13, 1908

Dear An. Vas.,

Yesterday I sent you a short note about Bringmann. I hasten to reply to your letter of February 11.

I don't quite understand why you should feel hurt by my letter. Not on account of philosophy, surely!

Your plan for a section of *belles-lettres* in *Proletary* and for having A. M. run it is an excellent one, and pleases me exceedingly. I have in fact been dreaming of making the *literature and criticism* section a permanent feature in *Proletary* and having A. M. to run it. But I was *afraid*, terribly afraid of making the proposal outright, as I *do not know* the nature of A. M.'s work (and his work-bent). If a man is busy with an important work, and if this work would suffer from him being torn away for minor things, such as a newspaper, and journalism, then it would be foolish and criminal to disturb and interrupt him! That is something I very well understand and feel.

Being on the spot, you will know best, dear An. Vas. *If you consider* that A. M.'s work *will not suffer* by his being harnessed to regular Party work (and the Party work will gain a great deal from this!), then try to arrange it.

Proletary No. 21 will come out on February 13 (26). So there is still time. It is desirable to have the manuscripts by *Friday*, which will give us plenty of time to put them in the issue which comes out on Wednesday. If it's something urgent we could manage it even if the copy arrives on Sunday (to avoid delay, write and send it directly to my address), or even (in an extreme case!) on Monday.

You, too, must write without fail. Won't you send us for No. 21 either a political article on Russian affairs (10,000-16,000 characters) or an article on Ferri's resignation[20]

(8,000-10,000 characters)? Better still, not "either...or", but "both...and".

I send you my best regards and ask you to reply whether A. M.'s contribution to *Proletary* is being arranged. If it is, let him begin at once, *without waiting* for the "meeting"[21] and an agreement.

Sent from Geneva to Capri
First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany I*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*,
Vol. 34, pp. 383-84

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

February 13, 1908

Dear Al. M.,

I think that some of the questions you raise about our differences of opinion are a sheer misunderstanding. Never, of course, have I thought of "chasing away the intelligentsia" as the silly syndicalists do, or of denying its necessity for the workers' movement. There can be no divergence between us on any of *these* questions; of that I am quite sure, and since we cannot get together at the moment, we must start work together at once. At work we shall best of all find a common language.

I am very, very pleased with your plan of writing short paragraphs for *Proletary* (the announcement has been sent to you). Naturally, if you are working on something big, *do not break it off*.

Regarding Trotsky, I wanted to reply last time, but I forgot. We (i.e., the editorial board of *Proletary*, Al. Al., myself and "Inok"—a very good colleague from the home Bolsheviks) decided straight away to invite him on to *Proletary*. We wrote him a letter, proposing and outlining a theme. *By general agreement* we signed it the "Editorial Board of *Proletary*", so as to put the matter on a more collegial footing (I personally, for example, had had a big fight with Trotsky, a regular fierce battle in 1903-05 when he was a Menshevik). Whether there was something in the form of our letter that offended Trotsky, I do not know, but he sent us a letter, not written by him: "On Comrade Trotsky's instructions" the editorial board of *Proletary* was informed that he refused to write, he was too busy.

In my opinion, this is mere posturising. At the London Congress,[22] too, he acted the *poseur*. I don't know really whether he will go with the Bolsheviks....

The Mensheviks here have issued an announcement about the monthly *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata*[23] over the signatures of Plekhanov, Axelrod, Dan, Martov and Martynov. I shall get it and send it to you. The struggle may become sharper. But Trotsky wants to stand "above the contending factions"....

It is in regard to materialism as a world outlook that I think I disagree with you in substance. Not the "materialist conception of history" (our "empirios"[24] do not deny that), but philosophical materialism. That the Anglo-Saxons and Germans owed their philistinism to "materialism", and the Romance peoples their anarchism, is something I emphatically dispute. Materialism, as a philosophy, was *everywhere pushed into the background* by them. *Neue Zeit*,[25] that most sober and well-informed organ, is indifferent to philosophy, was never a zealous supporter of philosophical materialism, and of late has been publishing the empirio-critics without a single reservation. It is wrong, absolutely wrong to think that dead philistinism could be deduced from *the* materialism which Marx and Engels taught! All the philistine trends in Social-Democracy are most of all at war with philosophical materialism, they lean towards Kant, neo-Kantianism, the critical philosophy. No, the philosophy which Engels substantiated in *Anti-Dühring* keeps philistinism at an arm's length, Plekhanov does harm to this philosophy by linking the struggle *here* with the factional struggle, but after all no Russian Social-Democrat ought to confuse the present Plekhanov with the old Plekhanov.

Al. Al. has just now left me. I shall communicate with him again about the "meeting". If you insist—it could be arranged for a couple of days and very soon at that.

All the best,
Lenin

Sent from Geneva to Capri

First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany I*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*,
Vol. 34, pp. 385-86

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

25.II.1908

Dear A. M.,

I did not answer your letter immediately because, strange as it may seem at first glance, we had quite a serious fight on the editorial board with Al. Al.[26] over your article, or rather in a certain connection with it. Ahem, ahem.... I spoke *not in that place* and not on that subject which you thought!

It happened like this.

The book, *Studies in the Philosophy of Marxism*,[27] has considerably sharpened the old differences among the Bolsheviks on questions of philosophy. I do not consider myself sufficiently competent on these questions to rush into print. But I have always followed our *Party* debates on philosophy very closely, beginning with Plekhanov's struggle against Mikhailovsky and Co. in the late eighties and up to 1895, then his struggle against the Kantians from 1898 onwards (here I not only followed it, but participated in it to some extent, as a member of the *Zarya*[28] editorial board since 1900), and, finally, his struggle against the empirio-critics and Co.

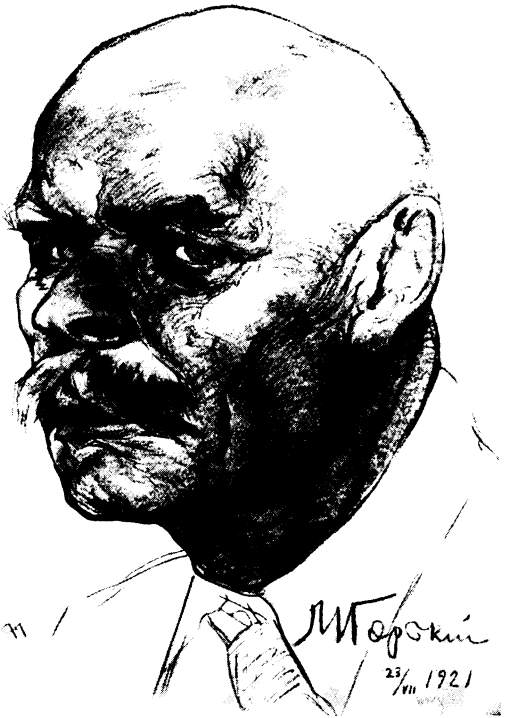
I have been following Bogdanov's writings on philosophy since his energeticist book, *The Historical View of Nature*, which I studied during my stay in Siberia. For Bogdanov, this position was merely a transition to other philosophical views. I became personally acquainted with him in 1904, when we immediately gave each other presents—I, my *Steps*,[29] he, one of his *current* philosophical works.[30] And I at once (in the spring or the early summer of 1904) wrote to him in Paris from Geneva that his writings strongly convinced me that his views were wrong and as strongly convinced me that those of Plekhanov were correct.

When we worked together, Plekhanov and I often discussed Bogdanov. Plekhanov explained the fallacy of Bogdanov's views to me, but he did not think the deviation a terribly serious one. I remember perfectly well that in the summer of 1903 Plekhanov and I, as representatives of the *Zarya* editorial board, had a conversation in Geneva with a delegate from the editors of the symposium *Outlines of a Realistic World Outlook*,[31] at which we *agreed* to contribute—I, on the agrarian question, Plekhanov *on anti-Machist philosophy*. Plekhanov made it *a condition* of his collaboration that he would write against Mach, a condition that the symposium delegate readily accepted. Plekhanov at that time regarded Bogdanov as an ally in the fight against revisionism, but an ally who erred in following Ostwald and, later on, Mach.

In the summer and autumn of 1904, Bogdanov and I reached a complete agreement, as *Bolsheviks*, and formed the tacit bloc, which tacitly ruled out philosophy as a neutral field, that existed all through the revolution and enabled us in that revolution to carry out together the tactics of revolutionary Social-Democracy (=Bolshevism), which, I am profoundly convinced, were the only correct tactics.

There was little opportunity to engage in philosophy in the heat of the revolution. Bogdanov wrote another piece in prison at the beginning of 1906—the third issue of *Empiriomonism*, I believe. He presented it to me in the summer of 1906, and I sat down to study it. After reading it I was furious. It became clearer to me than ever that he was on an absolutely wrong track, not the Marxist track. I thereupon wrote him a "declaration of love", a letter on philosophy taking up three notebooks. I explained to him that I was just *an ordinary Marxist* in philosophy, but that it was precisely his lucid, popular, and splendidly written works that had finally convinced me that he was essentially wrong and that Plekhanov was right. I showed these notebooks to some friends (including Lunacharsky) and thought of publishing them under the title "Notes of an Ordinary Marxist on Philosophy", but I never got round to it. I am sorry now that I did not have them published at the moment. I wrote to St. Petersburg the other day to have these notebooks hunted out and forwarded to me.[32]

Now the *Studies in the Philosophy of Marxism* have appeared. I have read all the articles except Suvorov's (I am reading



A. M. Gorky
Drawing by N. A. Andreyev
Gorky Museum

it now), and every article made me furiously indignant. No, no, this is not Marxism! Our empirio-critics, empirio-monists, and empirio-symbolists are floundering in a bog. To try to persuade the reader that "belief" in the reality of the external world is "mysticism" (Bazarov); to confuse in the most disgraceful manner materialism with Kantianism (Bazarov and Bogdanov); to preach a variety of agnosticism (empirio-criticism) and idealism (empirio-monism); to teach the workers "religious atheism" and "worship" of the higher human potentialities (Lunacharsky); to declare Engels's teaching on dialectics to be mysticism (Berman); to draw from the stinking well of some French "positivists" or other, of agnostics or metaphysicians, the devil take them, with their "symbolic theory of cognition" (Yushkevich)! No, really, it's too much. To be sure, we ordinary Marxists are not well up in philosophy, but why insult us by serving this stuff up to us as the philosophy of Marxism! I would rather let myself be drawn and quartered than consent to collaborate in an organ or body that preaches such things.

I felt a renewed interest in my "Notes of an Ordinary Marxist on Philosophy" and I began to write them,[33] but to Al. Al., in the process of reading the *Studies*, I gave my impressions bluntly and sharply, of course.

But what has your article got to do with it, you will ask? It has this to do with it: just at a time when these differences of opinion among the Bolsheviks threaten to become particularly acute, you are obviously beginning to expound the views of one trend in your article for *Proletary*. I do not know, of course, what you would have made of it, taken as a whole. Besides, I believe that an artist can glean much that is useful to him from philosophy of all kinds. Finally, I absolutely agree with the view that in matters that concern the art of writing you are the best judge, and that in deriving *this* kind of views both from your artistic experience *and from philosophy, even if idealistic philosophy*, you can arrive at conclusions that will be of tremendous benefit to the workers' party. All that is true; nevertheless *Proletary* must remain absolutely neutral towards all our divergencies in philosophy and not give the reader *the slightest grounds* for associating the Bolsheviks, as a trend, as a tactical line of the revolutionary wing of the Russian Social-Democrats, with empirio-criticism or empirio-monism.

When, after reading and re-reading your article, I told A. A. that I was against its publication, he grew as black as a thundercloud. The threat of a split was in the air. Yesterday our editorial trio held a special meeting to discuss the matter. A stupid trick on the part of *Neue Zeit* came unexpectedly to our rescue. In its issue No. 20, an unknown translator published Bogdanov's article on Mach, and blurted out in a foreword that the differences between Plekhanov and Bogdanov had a tendency, among Russian Social-Democracy, to become a *factional* disagreement between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. The fool, whether man or woman, who wrote this foreword succeeded in uniting us. We agreed at once that an announcement of our neutrality was now essential in the very next issue of *Proletary*. This was perfectly in keeping with my own frame of mind after the appearance of the *Studies*. A statement was drawn up, unanimously endorsed, and tomorrow it will appear in issue No. 21 of *Proletary*, which will be forwarded to you.

As regards your article, it was decided to postpone the matter, explain the situation to you in letters from each of *Proletary*'s three editors, and hasten my and Bogdanov's trip to see you.

And so you will be receiving a letter also from Al. Al. and from the third editor, about whom I wrote you previously.

I consider it necessary to give you my opinion quite frankly. Some sort of fight among the Bolsheviks on the question of philosophy I regard now as quite unavoidable. It would be stupid, however, to split on this. We formed a bloc in order to secure the adoption of definite tactics in the workers' party. We have been pursuing these tactics up to now *without disagreement* (the only difference of opinion was on the boycott of the Third Duma,[34] but that, first, was never so sharp among us as to lead to even a hint of a split, and, secondly, it never corresponded to the disagreement between the materialists and the Machists, for the Machist Bazarov, for example, was with me in opposing the boycott and wrote a long article on this in *Proletary*).

To hinder the application of the tactics of revolutionary Social-Democracy in the workers' party for the sake of disputes on the question of materialism or Machism, would be, in my opinion, unpardonable folly. We ought to fight over philosophy in such a way that *Proletary* and the Bol-

sheviks, as a faction of the *party, would not be affected by it.* And that is quite possible.

And you, I think, ought to help in this. You can help by contributing to *Proletary* on neutral questions (that is, unconnected with philosophy) of literary criticism, publicism, belles lettres, and so on. As for your article, if you wish to prevent a split and help to localise the new fight—you should rewrite it, and everything that even indirectly bears on Bogdanov's philosophy should be placed somewhere else. You have other mediums, thank God, besides *Proletary.* Everything that is not connected with Bogdanov's philosophy—and the *bulk* of your article is not connected with it—you could set out in a series of articles for *Proletary.* Any other attitude on your part, that is, a refusal to rewrite the article or to collaborate with *Proletary* would, in my opinion, unavoidably tend to aggravate the conflict among the Bolsheviks, make it difficult to localise the new fight, and weaken the vital cause, so essential practically and politically, of revolutionary Social-Democracy in Russia.

That is my opinion. I have told you all my thoughts and am now looking forward to your reply.

We intended to go to you today, but find that we have to postpone our visit for not less than a week, perhaps two or three weeks.

With very best regards,

Yours,

N. Lenin

Sent from Geneva to Capri

First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany I*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* Vol. 13, pp. 448-54

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

Dear A. M.,

It's a long time since I wrote to you. Our trip is being constantly put off: the main obstacle at present is the lack of news from Brussels. My friends wrote to me from there that I am expected at a meeting of the Bureau (International Socialist). I asked the secretary when I should come[35] (because, I said, I had to go to Italy). *There's still no reply.* But I mustn't miss Brussels.

Have you received *Proletary*? What are your intentions about it, then? And what about An. Vas.? It was with regret that I got his refusal to write about the Commune. *Innokenty* is our third editor.

Drop me a line about what plans you and An. Vas. have for *Proletary*.

All the best,

Yours,

Lenin

Written in the first half of March 1908

Sent from Geneva to Capri

First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany I*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 36, p. 160

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

March 16, 1908

Dear A. M.,

It's a pity I can't manage to go and see you. A reply has come from Brussels and here there is no delay. But there is no money and no time, and I cannot abandon the newspaper.

Judging from the fact that you own a nanny-goat, I see that you are in a good humour, the right frame of mind, and life is normal with you. With us things are going none too well. We are pretty much at loggerheads with Al. Al. over this philosophy. I am neglecting the newspaper because of my hard bout of philosophy: one day I read one of the empirio-critics and swear like a fishwife, next day I read another and swear still worse. And Innokenty scolds me—and quite right too—for neglecting *Proletary*. Things are not running smoothly.

Ah, well, it's only natural. Things will come right.

It would be fine if you could manage to write for *Proletary* without your major works suffering.

With warm greetings and best regards to A. Vas. and Maria Fyodorovna.

Yours,
Lenin

Sent from Geneva to Capri

First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany I*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*,
Vol. 34, p. 387

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

To A. M., private

March 24, 1908

Dear A. M.,

I have received your letter concerning my fight with the Machists. I quite understand and respect your feelings and I ought to say that I get something similar from my St. Petersburg friends, but I am very deeply convinced that you are mistaken.

You must understand—and you will, of course—that once a Party man has become convinced that a certain doctrine is grossly fallacious and *harmful*, he is obliged to come out against it. I would not be kicking up a row if I were not absolutely convinced (and I am becoming more and more convinced of this every day as I study the original sources of wisdom of Bazarov, Bogdanov and Co.) that their book is ridiculous, harmful, philistine, fideist—the *whole of it*, from beginning to end, from branch to root, to Mach and Avenarius. Plekhanov, at bottom, is *entirely* right in being against them, only he is unable or unwilling or too lazy to say so *concretely*, in detail, simply, without unnecessarily frightening his readers with philosophical nuances. And at all costs I shall say it *in my own way*.

What kind of "reconciliation" can there be here, dear A. M.? Why, it is ludicrous even to mention it. A fight is *absolutely* inevitable. And Party people should devote their efforts not to slurring it over, putting it off or dodging it, but to ensuring that essential Party work *does not suffer* in practice. That is what *you* should be concerned about, and nine-tenths of the Bolsheviks in Russia will help you in this and heartily thank you for it.

How is this to be done? By "neutrality"? No. There cannot and *will not be* any neutrality on such an issue. If it is

possible to speak of neutrality, it can only be in a *relative* sense: we must *separate* all this fight from the faction. So far, you have been writing "from the outside", keeping away from the factional publications; go on writing in this way. Only so will the faction not be committed, not be *involved*, not be compelled tomorrow or the day after to *decide*, to *vote*, i.e., to turn the *fight* into a chronic, protracted, hopeless affair.

That is why I am *against* allowing any kind of philosophy in the journal.[36] I know I am being abused for this: he wants to stop other people's mouths, while he has not yet opened his own! But just think it over coolly.

A journal with philosophy. No. 1—three articles of Bazarov, Bogdanov and Lunacharsky against Plekhanov. One article of mine saying that *Studies in the Philosophy of Marxism* = Berdayevism and reactionary clericalism.

No. 2—three times three keyed up articles of Bogdanov, Bazarov and Lunacharsky against Plekhanov and Lenin. One article of mine, proving from another angle that *Studies in the Philosophy of Marxism* = reactionary clericalism.

No. 3—howling and cursing.

I could write six or a dozen articles against *Studies in the Philosophy of Marxism*, one article against each author and each aspect of his views. Can this drag on in this way? How long? Will *this* not make a split *inevitable* through endless exacerbation and embitterment? Will *this* not bind the faction to make a decision: decide, analyse, and end the "discussion" by a vote....

Think this over carefully, if you fear a split. Will the practical workers undertake to distribute books with such a "fight"? Isn't another way better: go on writing as before, *outside* the factional publications. Do your scrapping on the side, *for the time being* the faction can wait. If there is a chance of *weakening* the inevitable animosity, it can only be in this way, I think.

You write: the Mensheviks will gain from a fight. You are mistaken, deeply mistaken, A. M.! They will gain if the Bolshevik faction does not dissociate itself from the philosophy of the three Bolsheviks. *In that case*, they will definitely win. But if the philosophical fight goes on outside the faction, the Mensheviks will be definitely reduced to a political line and that will be the death of them.

I say: *separate* the fight from the faction. Of course, such a separation, on living persons, is rather difficult and painful. It needs time. It needs solicitous comrades. Here the practical workers will help, here you should help, here it is a question of "psychology", and you know best. I think you could help a lot here—provided that, on reading my book against the *Studies*,[37] you don't become as furious against me as I became against them.

As regards the journal, think it over carefully and answer me soon. I am a little doubtful whether it is worth while for us to make the journey to you together *at present*. Why jangle nerves unnecessarily? Why draw out the torture ... there is no avoiding a fight. Would it not be better to settle this business of the journal simply, without long negotiations and ceremonial and futile meetings. I am merely putting questions to you in order to consult you.

Best regards to M.F. I shall most certainly come to Capri and try to bring my wife along, only I should like to do this independently of the philosophical fight.

All the very best,

Yours,

Lenin

P.S. I enclose *important* information about a spy among you.

Sent from Geneva to Capri

First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany I*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*,
Vol. 34, pp. 388-90

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

How is it there is no news from you, dear A. M.? You wrote that you had long finished your big work and were going to help us in *Proletary*. But when? What about your doing a small article on Tolstoi or something of that sort? Send us a line whether you intend to do so.

Al. Al. is on his way to you. I can neither abandon the paper nor get away from my work. But this is only a delay, I shall come all the same.

What do you think of "*Proletary*"? It is an uncared-for waif. Never before have I so neglected my paper: I spend whole days reading the accursed Machists, and dash off articles for the newspaper in incredible haste.

Well, all the best,

Yours,

Lenin

To M. F. thousand greetings! I shall bicycle down to see her!

Get Anat. Vas. to write for "*Proletary*" too! Let me do some philosophic barking by helping *Proletary* in the meantime!

Written in the first half of April 1908

Sent from Geneva to Capri

First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany I*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 34, p. 391

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

April 16, 1908

Dear Al. M.,

Today I received your letter and hasten to reply. It is useless and harmful for me to come: I *cannot* and will not talk to people who are preaching the union of scientific socialism and religion. The time for notebooks is past. It's no use arguing, and it's stupid to jangle one's nerves for nothing. Philosophy must be *separated* from Party (factional) affairs: the decision of the Bolshevik Centre makes this obligatory.

I have already *sent to be printed* the most formal declaration of war.[38] There is no longer any room for diplomacy here—of course, I am speaking of diplomacy not in the bad sense, but in the good sense of the word.

"Good" diplomacy on your part, dear A. M. (if you, too, have not come to believe in God), should consist in separating our joint (i.e., including myself) *affairs* from philosophy.

A talk on other matter than philosophy won't come off now: it would be unnatural. Incidentally, if these *other* matters, *not* philosophical, but *Proletary* matters, for example, really demand talks just *now*, and at your place, I could come (I don't know whether I shall find the money: there are difficulties at present), but I repeat: only on condition that I do not speak about philosophy or religion.

And I definitely intend coming to have a talk with you when I am free and through with my work.

All the very best,

Yours,

Lenin

Best regards to M. F.: she is not for God, by any chance, is she?

Sent from Geneva to Capri

First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany I*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 34, p. 393

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

April 19, 1908

Dear A. M.,

I have received the telegram from you and M. F. and am sending my refusal today or tomorrow morning. I repeat, *on no account* is it permissible to mix the disputes of writers about philosophy with a *Party* (i.e., *factional*) matter. I have already written about this to An. Vas.[39] and to avoid any misinterpretations or incorrect conclusions from my refusal to come *I repeat it for all the comrades.* We should continue to conduct our factional work harmoniously: none of us has regretted the policy which we pursued and implemented at the time of the revolution. Hence, it is our duty to *defend* it before the Party. We can only do this all together, and we should do it in *Proletary* and in all Party work.

If, in the course of it, A should inveigh against B, or B inveigh against A, on account of philosophy, we *must* do this as a thing apart, that is, without interfering with the work.

I shouldn't like you and the comrades to put a bad construction on my refusal to come. I am very sorry, but the whole situation and the state of the editorial board prevent my coming.

All the very best,

Yours,

Lenin

We are expecting to receive the promised article about the Rome strike from An. Vas. as soon as possible. We are expecting help for *Proletary* from all writers: we are all answerable to our comrades in Russia, who are dissatisfied with it.

Let Al. Al. *concern himself* seriously about money! They are crying out in Russia for lack of money.

Sent from Geneva to Capri
First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany I*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*,
Vol. 34, p. 394

V. I. LENIN TO M. F. ANDREYEVA

Dear Maria Fyodorovna,

I enclose a letter from our librarian[40] to A. M.

The thing is this. I want very much A. M. to write a *legal* open letter to the *Russian* papers, asking *assistance for the* Kuklin *Library* in Geneva by the dispatch to it of newspapers of the period of the revolution and material on its history.

A very short letter *explaining* to the general public why assistance to the library is also important *for the work* both of Gorky himself and of many other literary men he knows.

I would ask you to arrange to have the letter hectographed (I hope Zinovy Alexeyevich[41] will not refuse to help in this) and sent to *all Russian* newspapers and journals of a more or less decent trend.

Please organise all this!

I would ask Zinovy Alexeyevich to send me by *slow* delivery the books which Victor[42] did not take, *unless* Natalia Bogdanovna[43] takes *them.*

All good wishes,
Yours,
Lenin

May Day greetings!

Written at the end of April 1908
Sent from Geneva to Capri
First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 36, p. 161

From V. I. LENIN'S LETTER TO M. A. ULYANOVA

November 17, 1908

Please tell Anyuta that I have already sent my philosophical manuscript to the acquaintance who lived in the town where we met before my departure for Krasnoyarsk in 1900.[44] I hope that by now he has received it and delivered it to you. If he has not, you must go and see him since he does not live far from you. I ask you very earnestly to drop me a line immediately on receipt of the manuscript. I have written to two friends in St. Petersburg asking them to help me arrange publication. I asked them to write to Anyuta, if anything turns up, through our mutual acquaintance who works at Znaniye.[45] I hope for very little from Znaniye itself; the "boss" there,[46] who gave Anyuta a half promise, is an old fox and will probably go back on it after sniffing at the atmosphere on Capri, where Gorky lives. We shall have to look elsewhere....

Sent from Geneva to Moscow

First published in 1930 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 1

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 37, p. 397

From A. M. GORKY'S LETTER TO K. P. PYATNITSKY[47]

As regards publication of Lenin's book, I am against this, because I know the author. He is one of the cleverest of men, a wonderful man, but he is a fighter, and a chivalrous act will make him laugh. Should Znaniye publish this book he will say: silly fools—and those silly fools will be Bogdanov, myself, Bazarov and Lunacharsky....

The argument that has flared up between Lenin and Plekhanov on the one hand, and between Bogdanov, and Bazarov & Co., on the other, is very important and profound. The first two, while divided on questions of tactics, both profess and preach historic fatalism; the opposite side preaches the philosophy of activity. It is clear to me on which side the truth lies....

Written prior to November 9, 1908

First published in 1958 in *V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gorky*, 1st ed.

Printed from a typewritten copy received from K. P. Pyatnitsky's private archives (A. M. Gorky archives)

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

November 16, 1909

Dear Alexei Maximovich,

I have been fully convinced all the time that you and Comrade Mikhail were the most hardened factionalists of the new faction, with whom it would be silly of me to try and talk in a friendly way. Today for the first time I met Comrade Mikhail, and had a heart-to-heart chat with him both about affairs and about you, and I perceived that I had been cruelly mistaken. Believe me, the philosopher Hegel was right: life proceeds by contradictions, and living contradictions are so much richer, more varied and deeper in content than they may seem at first sight to a man's mind. I regarded the school as *merely* the centre of a new faction.[48] This has turned out to be wrong—not in the sense that it was not the centre of a new faction (the school was this centre and is so at the present time), but in the sense that this was incomplete, not the whole truth. Subjectively, certain people made such a centre out of the school, objectively, it was such, but in addition the school drew to it real front-rank workers from real working-class life. What happened was that, besides the contradiction between the old and the new faction, a contradiction developed on Capri, between some of the Social-Democratic intellectuals and the workers from Russia, who will bring Social-Democracy on to the true path *at all costs* and whatever happens, and who will do so despite all the squabbling and dissension abroad, despite the "incidents", and so on and so forth. People like Mikhail are a guarantee of it. Moreover, it turned out that a contradiction developed in the school between elements of the Capri Social-Democratic intelligentsia.

I gathered from Mikhail that you are taking things hard, dear A. M. You have seen the working class and Social-Dem-

ocratic movement from an aspect and in forms and manifestations which already more than once in the history of Russia and Western Europe have led intellectuals of little faith to despair of the workers' movement and Social-Democracy. I am confident that this will not happen in your case, and after my talk with Mikhail I want to shake your hand heartily. With your gifts as an artist you have rendered such a tremendous service to the working-class movement of Russia—and indeed not only of Russia—and will render a still greater service yet, that it is on no account permissible for you to fall a prey to moods of depression evoked by episodes of the struggle abroad. Conditions occur when the course of the working-class movement inevitably gives rise to this struggle abroad, and to splits, dissension and the quarrelling among the circles—but this is not because of the workers' movement being intrinsically weak or Social-Democracy intrinsically erroneous, but because the elements out of which the working class has to forge its Party are too heterogeneous and diverse in calibre. The working class will forge it in any case, it will forge an excellent revolutionary Social-Democratic Party in Russia, and it will do so more speedily than sometimes seems likely from the standpoint of the thrice-accursed emigrant position; it will forge it more surely than might be imagined if one were to judge by some external manifestations and individual episodes. People like Mikhail are a guarantee of that.

All the very best to you and to Maria Fyodorovna. I am now hopeful that we shall meet again and not as enemies.

Yours,
Lenin

Wl. Oulianoff,
4, Rue Marie Rose, 4,
Paris, XIV

Sent from Paris to Capri

First published in 1924
in *Krasnaya Gazeta* No. 236

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*,
Vol. 34, pp. 403-04

From A. M. GORKY'S LETTER TO V. I. LENIN[49]

I tell you what, dear man. Come down here while the school has not ended, take a look at the workers, talk with them. They aren't many, but they are worth your coming.

To spurn them would be a mistake, more than a mistake.

There are very serious men among them, and at any rate more normal than Mikhail and the others. And their heads are screwed on proper.

Once more, don't spurn them. Have a display of temper among yourselves—that's your affair, but don't touch them....

Written after November 16, 1909
Sent from Capri to Paris
First published in 1958 in *V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gorky*, 1st ed.

Printed from the authorised typewritten copy (C.P.A. I.M.L. of the C.C. C.P.S.U.)

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

Dear A. M.,

You are wrong in asking me to come over. Why should I be slanging Maximov, Lunacharsky, etc.? You yourself write about keeping at loggerheads strictly among ourselves and yet you invite us to do the same in public. It's no model. And about repelling the workers, you are wrong there too. If they accept our invitation and call on us, we shall have a chat with them and fight for the views of a certain newspaper,[50] which certain factionalists are abusing (I heard this long ago from Lyadov and others) as being a deadly bore, a semi-literate and useless paper which does not believe in the proletariat or socialism.

As regards a new split, your arguments don't hang together. On the one hand, both are nihilists (and "Slav anarchists"—why, my dear man, the non-Slav Europeans at times like ours fought, cursed and split a hundred times worse than we do!)—and, on the other hand, the split will be not less deep than that between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. If it is a question of the "nihilism" of the "loggerheads", of the semi-literacy, etc., of someone who does not believe in what he writes, etc.—then, the split is not deep or it is not a split at all. And if the split is deeper than that between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks—then it is not a question of nihilism, not a question of writers who do not believe in what they write. It doesn't hold water, really! You are wrong about the present split and justly* say: "I understand people but not their deeds."

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* An addition "justly": I make a reservation. Without understanding their deeds one cannot understand people either, unless it be ... outwardly. That is to say, it is possible to understand the psychol-

What strikes you and Maximov in *Proletary* as insincerity and futility, etc., is due to a totally different viewpoint on the entire present moment (and, of course, on Marxism). We have been marking time for almost two years now torturing questions which still seem "disputable" to Maximov, but which events decided long ago. And if we were to continue "disputing" about them, we would still be vainly marking time. But by parting company, we shall show the workers clearly, directly and definitely, two ways out. The Social-Democratic workers will make their choice easily and swiftly, for the tactics of preserving (in storage cans) the revolutionary *words* of 1905-06 instead of applying the revolutionary *method* to a new, different situation, to a changed epoch, which demands different methods and different forms of organisation—these tactics are dead. The proletariat is moving towards revolution and will come to it, but *not in the way* it did prior to 1905. To one who "believes" that the proletariat will make it, but who *does not understand* this "not in the way"—to him our position is *bound to* seem insincere, futile, tedious, based on lack of faith in the proletariat and socialism, etc., etc. The divergence resulting from this is, undoubtedly, deep enough to make a split—at least abroad—inevitable. But it does not come anywhere near the split between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, if one is to speak of the depth of the split in the Party, in Social-Democracy, among Marxists.

You are surprised that I fail to see Mikhail's hysteria, lack of discipline (it is not for you to say, nor for Mikhail to listen) and other bad qualities. Well, I have had a little opportunity of testing him: I thought that nothing would come of a conversation between you and me, that there was no sense in writing. Under the impression of my talk with Mikhail, I wrote at once, in the heat of the moment, without even reading through the letter, without putting it off until the next day. The next day I thought: I have been foolish enough to believe Mikhail. But it turned out that for all his enthusiasm Mikhail was right *to some extent*,

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ogy of one or other participant of a struggle, but not the *meaning* of the struggle, not its party and political *significance*.

for we *did* have our talk, you and I—not without hitches, of course, and not without *Proletary* being annihilated, but that can't be helped!

All the very best,
N. Lenin

Written not earlier than November 20, 1909

Sent from Paris to Capri

First published in 1924 in *Krasnaya Gazeta* No. 236

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 34, pp. 405-06

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

To Al. Max.

April 11, 1910

Dear A. M.,

I did not receive the letter from you and M. F. sent through M. S. Botkina until today. Before I forget: you can write to me at my *private* address (Oulianoff, 4, Rue Marie Rose, 4, Paris, XIV) and at the address of the Party—in which case it is safer to use two envelopes, the inner one marked: for Lenin, private (110, Avenue d'Orléans, Mr. Kotliarenko, Paris, XIV).

I shall try and send you tomorrow the publications you ask for.

Did I criticise you, and where? It must have been in *Diskussionny Listok* No. 1 (published as a supplement to the C.O.).[51] I am sending you a copy. If this is not what your informants had in mind, then I don't remember anything else at the moment. I wrote nothing else during that period.

Now about unity. You ask: is this a fact or an anecdote? I shall have to go back a long way to tell you about this, for there is something both "anecdotal" (rather trivial) about this fact, and something serious, in my view.

There have been deep and serious factors leading to Party unity: in the ideological field—the need to purge Social-Democracy from liquidationism and otzovism;[52] in the practical field—the terribly difficult plight of the Party and of all Social-Democratic work, and the coming to maturity of a new type of Social-Democratic worker.

At the C.C. plenum[53] (the "long plenum"—three weeks of agony, all nerves were on edge, the devil to pay!) to these serious and deep-lying factors, which were by no means generally recognised, were added minor, petty factors—a mood of "conciliation in general" (without any clear

idea with whom, for what, and how); hatred of the Bolshevik Centre for its implacable ideological struggle; squabbling on the part of the Mensheviks, who were spoiling for a fight, and as a result—an infant covered with blisters.

And so we have to suffer. Either—at best—we cut open the blisters, let out the pus, and cure and rear the infant.

Or, at worst—the infant dies. Then we shall be childless for a while (that is, we shall re-establish the Bolshevik faction) and then give birth to a more healthy infant.

Among the Mensheviks, those working for serious unity are the Plekhanovites (not quite consciously, rather slowly and waveringly, but they are nevertheless working for it, and, what is most important, they cannot help working for it), the *pro-Party*-ists[54] and the workers. The *Golos* people,[55] however, are fencing, causing confusion and making mischief. They are building up a strong, legal, opportunist centre in Russia (Potresov & Co. in the press: see *Nasha Zarya*[56] No. 2—what a scoundrel this Potresov is!—and Mikhail, Roman, Yury + the sixteen authors of the "Open Letter" in No. 19/20 of *Golos*[57]—in practical, organisational work).

The C.C. plenum wanted to unite *everyone*. Now the *Golos* people *drop out*. This abscess *must* be removed. It cannot be done without squabbling, rows, nervous strain, mud and "scum".

We are just now in the thick of this squabbling. Either the C.C. in Russia lops off the *Golos* supporters by removing them from important bodies (such as the Central Organ, etc.)—or our faction will have to be re-established.

In No. 11 of *Dnevnik*,[58] Plekhanov has given an appraisal of the plenum which clearly shows that the sincere and serious desire to fight opportunism *now* prevails with him over the minor, petty desire to *utilise* the *Golos* opportunists *against* the Bolsheviks. Here, too, things take a complex and protracted course, but the Mensheviks' legalistic, liquidationist centre that has been built up in Russia will *inevitably* lead to serious Social-Democrats turning away from them.

Now about the Vperyodists.[59] At one time it seemed to me that within this group, too, there were two trends: towards the Party and Marxism, towards renouncing Machism and otzovism, and the opposite. As far as the first trend is concerned, Party unity would enable the patent

absurdities of otzovism, etc., to be corrected in a convenient and unembarrassing Party way. But, apparently, the second trend is getting the upper hand among them. Alexinsky (a mere babe-in-arms in politics, but one who has turned angry and is committing one stupidity after another) kicked up a row and resigned from both the editorial board of *Diskussionny Listok* and from the Party's School Committee. They will probably organise a school of *their own*, again a factional one, again on the side. If they do, we shall fight again and win the workers away from them.

And so it works out, that in the matter of unity the "anecdotic" predominates at the present time, is brought into high focus, gives occasion for sniggering and sneering, etc. It is said that the Socialist-Revolutionary[60] Chernov has even written a farce about unity among the Social-Democrats entitled "A Storm in a Tea-cup", and that this farce will be performed here in a day or two before one of the groups of the emigrant colony, who are addicted to sensationalism.

It is sickening to be stuck in the midst of this "anecdotic" situation, this squabbling and row-making, nervous strain and "scum"; to observe all this is also sickening. But one should not allow oneself to succumb to the mood. Life in exile is now a hundred times harder than it was before the revolution. Life in exile and squabbling are inseparable.

But the squabbling will pass away; nine-tenths of it remains abroad; it is an accessory feature. The development of the Party, the development of the Social-Democratic movement goes forward despite all the devilish difficulties of the present situation. The purging of the Social-Democratic Party from *its* dangerous "deviations", from liquidationism and otzovism *goes forward* steadfastly; within the framework of unity it has *progressed considerably farther* than before. As a matter of fact, we had finished with otzovism ideologically before the plenum. We had not finished with liquidationism at that time; the Mensheviks succeeded temporarily in *hiding the snake*, but now it has been dragged out into broad daylight, now everyone sees it, now we shall kill it!

And this purging is by no means only an "ideological" task, a labour of armchair workers as that fool (or rogue) Potresov thinks, who *stands up* for the Machists the way the Mensheviks at the plenum stood up for the Vperyodists. No, this purge is inseparably bound up with the mass work-

ing-class movement, which learns how to organise Social-Democratic work in the present difficult period, learns precisely by rejection, finds the right path by rejecting liquidationism and otzovism. Only that windbag Trotsky imagines that this rejection can be avoided, that it is superfluous, that it does not concern the workers, that the issues of liquidationism and otzovism have been posed *not by* life itself, *but* by the wicked polemicists.

I can imagine how distressing the sight of this painful growth of the new Social-Democratic movement must be to those who have not seen and lived through its painful growth in the late eighties and early nineties. At that time such Social-Democrats were to be counted by the score, if not in individuals. Now there are hundreds and thousands of them. Hence the crisis and crises. And the Social-Democratic movement *as a whole* is coping with them openly and will overcome them honestly.

All the very best,

Yours,

Lenin

Sent from Paris to Capri

First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany I*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 34, pp. 419-22

V. I. LENIN TO M. A. ULYANOVA

Dr. Dmitry Ilyich Ulyanov,
Mikhnevo Station,
Ryazan-Urals Railway,
Moscow,
Russia

July 1, 1910

Mother dearest,

Best regards from Naples. I arrived here by steamer from Marseilles—cheap and pleasant. It was like travelling on the Volga. I am going to Capri from here for a brief visit.

Love and kisses. Regards to all.

Yours,
V. U.

First published in 1931 in V. I. Lenin, *Letters to Relatives*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 37, p. 462

V. I. LENIN TO M. F. ANDREYEVA

August 14, 1910

Dear M. F.,

I hasten to inform you that I have received at last the reply concerning Tria's report. The secretary of the Editorial Board[61] writes that "Tria's report has been put to the vote, translated and almost all set up, and will go as a supplement" (i.e., a supplement to the general report of the Party). And so, everything has turned out well.

I have no news to report. On August 23 I am going to Copenhagen.[62] What news have you? What did you learn from that large assembly of people, that "houseful of guests" you wrote about?[63]

Best wishes, from Nadya as well. Greetings to A. M. and all the Capri crowd.

Yours,
V.U.

Sent from Pornic (France) to Capri

First published in 1958 in the journal *Teatr* No. 4

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*. Vol. 43, p. 252

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

November 14, 1910

Dear A. M.,

There has been no news from you and M. F. for a very long time. I have been looking forward eagerly to news from Capri. What's wrong? Surely you don't keep count of letters as some people are said to keep count of visits.

Everything here is as of old. A host of trivial affairs and all kinds of trouble connected with the struggle of the various "dominions" inside the Party. Brrr!... It must be nice on Capri....

By way of relaxation from the squabbling we have taken up the old plan of publishing *Rabochaya Gazeta*.[64] With difficulty we raised 400 francs. Yesterday No. 1 came out at last. I am sending you a copy together with a leaflet and a subscription list. Members of the Capri-Neapolitan colony who sympathise with such an enterprise (and with the "rapprochement" between the Bolsheviks and Plekhanov) are invited to afford every assistance. *Rabochaya Gazeta* is necessary, but we can't make a go of it with Trotsky, who is intriguing in favour of the liquidators and the otzovists and *Vperyod* supporters. Already in Copenhagen Plekhanov and I protested vigorously against Trotsky's despicable article in *Vorwärts*.[65] And what a disgusting article he has published in *Neue Zeit*, too, on the historical significance of the struggle among the Russian Social-Democrats! And Lunacharsky's in the Belgian *Le Peuple*[66]—have you seen it?

We are setting up a small legal periodical[67] to combat *Nasha Zarya* and *Zhizn*[68]—this, too, with Plekhanov's participation. We hope to issue No. 1 soon.

And so we jog along. Little by little, hard and slowly we are making headway, extricating ourselves from the squabbles.

What is the news with you? Did you write to Stroyev and what reply did you receive? We wrote a first letter to him to "make contact"; he received it and replied that he did not understand who was writing. We wrote again. Not a word. There's a terrible shortage of the right people, and the old ones have dispersed.

Arrangements were on the point of completion in St. Petersburg for putting out a weekly newspaper together with the Duma group (the Mensheviks there fortunately incline not towards the liquidators, but towards Plekhanov), but the matter has been held up again, the devil knows why.[69]

Write how you are getting on. Is your work going well? Has anything come of the journal we talked about in the summer? How are things with Znaniye?

I have the right to be cross with M. F. She promised to write. Nothing has come. She promised to find out about the Paris library on the history of the Russian revolution. Nothing has come. That's bad.

All the best,

Yours,

Lenin

Tria's report will, probably, be published *after all*. The editorial board of the C.O. decided this. But the squabbling on that editorial board—ye gods!...

Sent from Paris to Capri

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 34, pp. 432-33

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

November 22, 1910

Dear A. M.,

I wrote you a few days ago when sending *Rabochaya Gazeta*, and asked what had come of the journal we talked about in the summer and about which you promised to write to me.

I see in *Rech*[70] today a notice about *Sovremennik*,[71] published "with the closest and *exclusive* (that is what is printed! illiterately, but so much the more pretentiously and significantly) participation of Amfiteatrov" and with you as a regular contributor.

What is this? How does it happen? A "large monthly" journal, with sections on "politics, science, history, social life"—why, this is something quite different from symposia aiming at a concentration of the best forces of *belles-lettres*. Such a journal should either have a perfectly definite, serious and consistent *trend*, or it will inevitably disgrace itself and those taking part in it. *Vestnik Yevropy*[72] has a trend—a poor, watery, worthless trend—but one which serves a definite element, certain sections of the bourgeoisie, and which also unites definite circles of the professorate and officialdom, and the so-called intelligentsia from among the "respectable" (or rather, would-be respectable) liberals. *Russkaya Mysl*[73] has a trend, an odious trend, but one which performs a very good service for the counter-revolutionary liberal bourgeoisie. *Russkoye Bogatstvo*[74] has a trend—a Narodnik, Narodnik-Cadet[75] trend—but one which has kept its line for scores of years, and which serves definite sections of the population. *Sovremenny Mir*[76] has a trend—often Menshevik-Cadet trend (at present with a leaning towards pro-Party Menshevism)—but a trend. A journal without a trend is an absurdity, a ridiculous, scandalous

and harmful thing. And what sort of trend can there be with the "exclusive participation" of Amfiteatrov? One cannot expect H. Lopatin to provide a trend, and if the talk (said also to have got into the newspapers) is true about Kachorovsky's participation, then that is a "trend", but a trend of the blockheads, an S.R. trend.

During our talk in the summer when I told you that I had all but written you a disappointed letter about *Confessions* but did not send it because of the split with the Machists which had begun at that time, you replied: "*it's a pity* you did not send it". Then you went on to reproach me for not going to the Capri school, and you said that, if matters had taken a different course, the breakaway of the Machists and otzovists might have cost you less nervous strain, less waste of energy. Recalling these talks, I have now decided to write to you without putting it off and without waiting for any verification, while the impression the news has made is still fresh.

I think that a political and economic monthly with the exclusive participation of Amfiteatrov is something many times worse than a special Machist-otzovist faction. What was and still is bad about this faction is that the *ideological* trend deviated and still deviates from Marxism, from Social-Democracy, without, however, going so far as a break with Marxism, and only creating confusion.

Amfiteatrov's journal (his *Krasnoye Znamya*[77] did well to die when it did!) is a political act, a political enterprise in which there is not even a realisation that a general "leftism" is not enough for a policy, that after 1905[78] to talk seriously about politics without making clear one's attitude towards Marxism and Social-Democracy is out of the question, impossible, inconceivable.

Things are turning out bad. It's saddening.

Yours,
Lenin

To M. F.—*salut et fraternité.*

Sent from Paris to Capri

First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany I*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 34, pp. 434-35

A. M. GORKY TO A. V. AMFITEATROV

Dear Alexander Valentinovich,

The Notice concerning *Sovremennik* states, "Published with the *closest* and *exclusive* participation of A. Amfiteatrov"—this is hardly literate, and further on in bold type: "*with regular contributions by Maxim Gorky*".

This is no good.

Will you please tell them to be sure to have the bold type removed, and the "regular contributions"[79] too—this is essential! I want my name to be printed in line with those of the other contributors, I insist on this.

And I have never signed my things with the name Maxim—always M. Gorky. It's quite possible that this "M" conceals a Merodach, a Methuselah or a Mrakobes.*

Forgive me, but I ask you most earnestly to meet my wishes!

Most earnestly!

A. Peshkov

Written not earlier than November 25, 1910

Printed from the original (A. M. Gorky archives)

First published in *M. Gorky. Materialy i issledovaniya*, Vol. I, Leningrad, U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences Publishing House, 1934

* A Russian word meaning "obscurantist".—*Tr.*

From A. M. GORKY'S LETTER TO A. V. AMFITEATROV

My dear Alexander Valentinovich,

That funereal notice has appeared again in *Rech* for December 1 (14, New Style) and again I protest against the bold type and "regular contributions".

That burial notice is a great nuisance.

Written after December 18, 1910

First published in *M. Gorky. Materialy i issledovaniya*, Vol. I

Printed from M. Gorky, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 147, Russ. ed.

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

January 3, 1911

Dear A. M.,

I have long been intending to reply to your letter but intensification of the squabbling* here (a hundred thousand devils take it!) distracted me.

But I should like to have a chat with you.

First of all, before I forget: Tria has been arrested together with Jordania and Ramishvili. It is reported as being true. A pity, for he is a good chap. A revolutionary.

Regarding *Sovremennik*. In *Rech* today I read the contents of the first issue and I am cursing and swearing. Vodovozov on Muromtsev ... Kolosov on Mikhailovsky, Lopatin "Not ours", etc. You can't help swearing. And here are you, teasing as it were: "realism, democracy, activity".

Do you think these are good words? They are *bad* words used by all the bourgeois tricksters in the world, from the Cadets and S.R.s in our country to Briand or Millerand here, Lloyd George in Britain, etc. The words are bad, turgid, and they carry an S.R.-Cadet message. It's not good.

As regards Tolstoi, I fully share your opinion that hypocrites and rogues will make a saint of him. Plekhanov, too, was infuriated by all the lying and sycophancy around Tolstoi, and in here we see eye to eye. He criticises *Nasha Zarya* for it in the C.O. (the next issue),[80] and I am doing so in *Mysl* (No. 1 arrived today. Congratulate us on *our own* little journal in Moscow, a Marxist one. This has been a happy day for us). *Zvezda* No. 1[81] (it appeared on December 16 in St. Petersburg) also contains a good article by Plekhanov with a *trivial* comment, for which we have already scolded

* That rascal Trotsky is uniting the Golosists and Vperyodists against us. It is war!

the *editors*.[82] It was probably concocted by that ninny Yordansky, together with Bonch! But how come *Sovremennik* to combat the "legend about Tolstoi and his religion". Is it Vodovozov with Lopatin? You must be joking.

That they have started hitting out at the students is, in my opinion, comforting, but Tolstoi must not be allowed to get away with either "passivism" or anarchism or Narodism or religion.

As regards quixotism in the international policy of Social-Democracy, I think, you are wrong. It is the revisionists who have long been asserting that colonial policy is progressive, that it implants capitalism and that therefore it is senseless to "accuse it of greed and cruelty", for "without these qualities" capitalism is "hamstrung".

It would be quixotism and whining if Social-Democrats were to tell the workers that there could be salvation somewhere apart from the development of capitalism, not through the development of capitalism. But we do not say this. We say: capital devours you, will devour the Persians, will devour everyone and go on devouring until you overthrow it. That is the truth. And we do not forget to add: except through the growth of capitalism there is no guarantee of victory over it.

Marxists do not defend a single reactionary *measure*, such as banning trusts, restricting trade, etc. But *to each his own*. Let Khomyakovs and Co. build railways across Persia, let them send Lyakhovs, but the job of the Marxists is to *expose* them to the workers. If it devours, say the Marxists, if it strangles, fight back.

Resistance to colonial policy and international plunder *by means* of organising the proletariat, *by means* of defending freedom for the proletarian struggle, *does not retard* the development of capitalism but *accelerates* it, forcing it to resort to more civilised, technically higher methods of capitalism. There is capitalism and capitalism. There is Black-Hundred-Octobrist capitalism[83] and *Narodnik* ("realistic, democratic", full of "activity") capitalism. The more we *expose* capitalism before the workers for its "greed and cruelty", the more difficult is it for capitalism of the first order to persist, the more surely is it bound to pass into capitalism of the second order. And this just suits us, this just suits the proletariat.

You think I have fallen into a contradiction? In the be-

ginning of the letter I considered the words "realism, democracy, activity" bad words, and now I find them good? There is no contradiction here; what is bad for the proletariat is good for the bourgeois.

The Germans have an exemplary journal of the opportunists: *Sozialistische Monatshefte*. There gentlemen like Schippel and Bernstein have long been attacking the international policy of the revolutionary Social-Democrats by raising an outcry that this policy resembles the "lamentations of compassionate" people. That, brother, is a trick of opportunist swindlers. Ask for this journal to be sent to you from Naples and have their articles translated if you are interested in international politics. You probably have such opportunists in Italy too, only there are no Marxists in Italy, that's what makes her so nasty.

The international proletariat is pressing capitalism in two ways: by converting Octobrist capitalism into democratic capitalism and, because it drives Octobrist capitalism away *from itself*, by *transplanting* this capitalism to the savages. This, however, enlarges the basis of capitalism and brings its death nearer. There is practically no Octobrist capitalism left in Western Europe; practically all capitalism is democratic. Octobrist capitalism has gone from Britain and France to Russia and Asia. The Russian revolution and the revolutions in Asia=the struggle for ousting Octobrist capitalism and replacing it by democratic capitalism. And democratic capitalism=the last of its kind. It has no next stage to go on to. The next stage is its death.

What do you think of *Zvezda* and *Mysl*? The former is dull, in my opinion. But the latter is *all* ours and I am delighted with it. I'm afraid they'll soon close it down, though.

I was wondering whether you could arrange for my book on the agrarian question to go to Znaniye. Talk it over with Pyatnitsky. I just can't find a publisher, not for love or money.

Reading your postscript: "my hands are shaking and freezing" makes me indignant. What wretched houses you have on Capri! It's a disgrace, really! Even we here have central heating; and your "hands are freezing". You must revolt.

All the very best,

Yours,

Lenin

I have received from Bologna an invitation to come to the school there (20 workers). I have turned it down.[84] I don't want to have anything to do with the Vperyodists. We're trying again to get the workers to come here.

Sent from Paris to Capri

First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany I*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*,
Vol. 34, pp. 437-40

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

Dear A. M.,

How is your health? M. F. wrote that you had returned with a cough, etc. I hope you are better.

We've had some bad luck with *Mysl*. You probably know what has happened from *Rech* and other papers.[85] We have to transfer the whole business to St. Petersburg, and begin all over again. But we have no legal and reliable people.

Could you help us, if you sympathise with *Mysl*? Or perhaps Pyatnitsky could help? As things are, we still have enough money to publish such a small journal (provided, of course, that we all work for nothing and pay outsiders 20 rubles a sheet! Not so generous, you see). So *at present* it is only *technical* help that is needed: to find a publisher who, *without spending a kopek of his own*, would bring out the journal (and we so strongly recognise the *strictest* legality, that we give the right both to the publisher and to the secretary of the editorial board + a lawyer to *hold up* anything in the least dangerous; we brought out four issues without the slightest fault-finding from the court. No. 5 was confiscated on account of Kautsky![86] That was obviously a mere pretext. There was nothing illegal in Kautsky).

Why should not Pyatnitsky or someone else help us in such a safe business? If it is impossible to find a publisher, what about a *secretary*, a *legal* person whom we would pay 50 rubles a month for worrying about the printing press and forwarding. All we want is an honest and thoughtful person. The trouble is that we have *no* legal people, except workmen (and they won't do).

The second question. We have a translation of Kautsky's latest articles against Maslov, which has already been *paid* for.[87] It's quite legal. It's an essential thing, because

Maslov has written a lot of nonsense and has also lied to his Russian readers. It's 3-5 printed sheets. Could it be published—without author's fees (for our translation has already been paid for) at cost price? Is Pyatnitsky (or someone else) suitable for anything like this or not?

The third question. Y. M. Nakhamkis, deported here from St. Petersburg for his connections with the Social-Democratic Duma group (he is *Nevzorov* or *Steklov*, author of a good book about Chernyshevsky), is badly in need of work and asks me to inquire whether it would be possible to publish Peary: *A Journey to the North Pole.* He thinks it will have a good sale.

What news is there of the "plans"? Please write.

And do reply to the workers at our school.[88] They are good fellows. One of them is a poet, and keeps writing verses, but the poor chap has no guide, helper, instructor or adviser.

Best wishes.

Yours,

Lenin

Robert E. Peary:

La découverte du pôle nord. Paris—magnificent illustrations. The blocks can be bought here cheaply. About 15 printed sheets, each of 40,000 letters and spaces. (I have just seen Steklov, who gave me these details.)

Written at the end of April 1911
Sent from Paris to Capri

First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany I*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 36, pp. 178-79

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

May 27, 1911

Dear A. M.,

A few days ago I received a letter from Poletayev. He writes, inter alia: "We have received a letter from Gorky. He is proposing that N. I. should come abroad to work out a plan for unity around some organ, and adds that he has spoken to you about this and to the Menshevik M." (Martov, I assume).

Poletayev adds that N. I. is hardly suitable for this plan and that if somebody must come, it should be somebody else. It is hardly likely that Pokrovsky will make the journey.

Reading this in Poletayev's letter frightened me—no, really.

Our uniting with Mensheviks like Martov is *absolutely* hopeless, as I told you here. If we start arranging a meeting for such a hopeless plan—the result will be nothing but a disgrace (personally I would not go even to a meeting with Martov).

Judging from Poletayev's letter, the participation of the Duma group is planned. Is this necessary? If it is a question of a journal, then the Duma group has nothing to do with it. If it is a question of a newspaper, it should be borne in mind that we have had *plenty* of discord as it is with *Zvezda*: they have no line, they are afraid of going with us, afraid of going with the liquidators, they play hot and cold, they give themselves airs, they vacillate.

Besides, a union of the Plekhanovites+our people+the Duma group threatens to give Plekhanov a *preponderance*, for Mensheviks predominate in the Duma group. Is it desirable and reasonable to give Plekhanov a preponderance?

I *very much* fear that Yordansky is unsuitable for such plans (for he has "*his*" own journal and he will either raise

obstacles or try to impose "his" journal, leaving it as *his*, that is, a semi-liberal organ).

To avoid disappointments and hopeless squabbles, I think we should be very careful as regards "unity". Upon my word, we should be not uniting now, but dissociating! If a publisher can be found for a journal or a newspaper, *you* should conclude an agreement with him *off your own bat* (or take money from him without an agreement, if possible), but the arrangement of a meeting will only make a mess. Truly, the result will be a mess.

I am writing to you because I do not want to see *you* of all people wasting your time, nervous energy, etc., on a mess. I *know* from my own bitter experience of 1908-11 that it is impossible to "unite" now. In our *Mysl*, for example, Plekhanov more than once behaved temperamentally—he was dissatisfied, for example, with my article on strikes and on Potresov,[89] saying that I was abusing "him"! We managed to smooth things over and *for the time being* we can and must work with Plekhanov, but *formal* unions and meetings are premature and could spoil everything.

Don't hurry with the meeting!

It is said positively among us that there exists a government circular of Stolypin's for closing down *all* Social-Democratic publications. It sounds like the truth. Before the Fourth Duma they will probably put the screw on ten times tighter.

Legal opportunities will evidently diminish in the immediate future. We must push on with illegal work.

M. F. wrote that you have completely withdrawn from Znaniye. That means a complete break with Pyatnitsky and my last letter came too late?

All the best.

Yours,

Lenin

P.S. *Sovremennaya Zhizn*[90] in Baku has also been raided and suppressed!

Sent from Paris to Capri

First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany I*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 34, pp. 446-47

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

September 15, 1911

Dear A. M.,

It must have been two months ago that I wrote to you last—at the beginning of the school[91] (it is now over, and the students have gone away). There was no reply, and I was wondering whether the "negotiations" had become protracted or whether anything had radically changed.[92] Leshchenko was here the other day and told me about Capri, and I was very glad to learn that the whole trouble was the postponement of the meetings you had had in mind until "after the fair".[93] But the plans at Capri, Leshchenko said, were unchanged: a literary monthly, a full-sized paper and also, I understand, a tabloid.

Yes, all this would be very welcome indeed just now. The liquidators are buying *Kievskaya Kopeika* (so they say in St. Petersburg, whence we had a letter today), and are transferring it to St. Petersburg.[94] It would be extremely important to organise a counter-attack.

So far we have been able only to collect our last cash for reviving *Zvezda*.[95] I very much count on your help: send us an article. Help is particularly important at the beginning, because it won't be easy to resume an interrupted publication.

Have you received the pamphlet by Kamenev, and have you read it? I cherish the hope that it must dissipate some of the prejudices you seem to have against its author.

Our Party affairs are in a pretty mess, but still things are coming to a head. Plekhanov is hedging, he always acts that way—it's like a disease—before things break. Martov sent Kautsky and Zetkin the translation (in typescript) of his pamphlet, and this was a *great* help to us; both Kaut-

sky and Clara Zetkin said some pretty harsh things about the pamphlet: the former called it "disgusting", the latter "dirty".

Well, all the best. Do write for *Zvezda*.

Drop me a line, if you feel equal to the effort. Warm greetings to Maria Fyodorovna.

Yours,

Lenin

Sent from Paris to Capri

First published in 1925
in *Lenin Miscellany III*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*,
Vol. 36, pp. 185-86

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

Dear A. M.,

We shall shortly send you the resolutions of the Conference.[96] We have finally succeeded—in spite of the liquidationist scoundrels—in reviving the Party and its Central Committee. I hope you will be as glad of this as we are.

Won't you write a May Day leaflet for us? Or a little leaflet in a similar May Day spirit? Quite a short one, a "heart-warmer", what do you say? Think of old times, remember 1905, and put down a couple of words, if you have the mind to write. There are two or three illegal printing presses in Russia, and the Central Committee will republish it, probably, in several tens of thousands of copies. It would be a good thing to get a *revolutionary* manifesto like the *Tales* in *Zvezda*.[97] I am very, very glad that you are helping *Zvezda*. We are having a devilish hard job with it—internal and external and financial difficulties are immense—but still we are managing so far.

All the best,
Lenin

P.S. And *Sovremennik* has had the sense to die, after all! That was a good deed on its part.

Written in February 1912
Sent from Paris to Capri
First published in 1925
in *Lenin Miscellany III*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*.
Vol. 35, p. 23

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

Dear A. M.,

I am very glad you have agreed to try and write a May Day leaflet.

I enclose the Conference resolutions.

I have seen *Zhivoye Dyelo*.[98] A rotten little liquidationist rag with an "approach". Liberal propaganda. They are glad that the police prevent the question of the Party being openly discussed.

Zvezda will continue, either as a weekly *or as a kopek daily*. You helped *Zvezda* very, very much with your splendid *Tales*, and that made me extremely joyful, so that the joy—if I am to talk straight—outweighed my sadness at your "affair" with the Chernovs and Amfiteatrovs.... Brr! I am glad, I must confess, that they are "going up the spout".

But as for your having nothing to live on and not being able to get printed anywhere, that's bad. You ought to have got rid of that leech Pyatnitsky long ago and appointed an honest agent, an agent pure and simple, to deal with Znaniye (perhaps it's already too late, I don't know)!!! If only.... It would have been a gold mine....

I see Rozhkov's *Irkutskoye Slovo*[99] very rarely. The man's become a liquidator. And Chuzhak is an old ass, hardened and pretentious.

Yours,

Lenin

Thank M. F. for her letter to Moscow, and a thousand greetings!

Written in February-March 1912
Sent from Paris to Capri
Furst published in 1927
in *Bakinsky Rabochy* No. 17

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, p. 24

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

Dear A. M.,

On Saturday I am disengaged and will be at home. Will 2.30 suit you? If not, I can manage it in the evening.[100]

All the best,
Yours,
Lenin

4, Rue Marie Rose, 2nd floor (Russian 3rd), door on the left.

Written in the middle of March 1912

Printed from *Lenin Miscellany*

First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany I*, p. 129

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

Krakau, Oesterreich
Zwierzyniec, 218
Wl. Ulijanow

Cracow, August 1, 1912

Dear A. M.,

I have received your letter and a letter from the Siberians. My address now is not Paris, but Cracow—see above.

I haven't quite understood what party you have decided to expel me from. From the Socialist-Revolutionary perhaps?

No, joking apart, it's a bad, philistine, bourgeois style you have adopted, to wave us away with a "you're all squabblers". Just have a look at the latest S. R. literature—*Pochin*, *Izvestia zagranichnoi oblastnoi organizatsii*—compare it with *Revolutsionnaya Mysl* and with *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya*—and then again with Ropshin, etc. Remember *Vekhi*[101] and the polemics (quasi-polemics) conducted against it by Milyukov, Gredeskul (who has now discovered that a second revolution in Russia is not necessary), etc., etc.

Compare *all* this as a whole, the sum *total* of ideological trends from 1908 to 1912 among the S.R.s, Trudoviks, Bezzaglavtsi[102] and Cadets, with what existed and exists among the Social-Democrats (somebody, some day—probably a a historian will certainly do this work). You will see that *everyone*, literally everyone outside the Social-Democrats was discussing *the same* questions, literally the very same, on account of which little groups have broken away from our Party in the direction of liquidationism and otzovism.

The bourgeois, the liberals, the S.R.s like to shout about "squabbles" among the Social-Democrats, because they themselves do not take "painful questions" *seriously*, tag along behind others, play the diplomat, and make do with eclecticism. The difference between the Social-Democrats and all of them is that among the Social-Democrats squabbles are the externals of a struggle of groups with *profound* and clear ideological roots, while *among them* squabbles

are externally smoothed over, internally empty, petty, trivial. Never and not for anything would I exchange the sharp struggle of currents of opinion among the Social-Democrats for the nicely smoothed emptiness and intellectual poverty of the S.R.s and Co.

All the very best.

Yours,
Lenin

P.S. Greetings to M. F.!

P.P.S. And in Russia there is a *revolutionary* revival, not just a revival, but a revolutionary one. And we have managed at last to set up a daily *Pravda*[103]—incidentally, thanks precisely to that (January) Conference which the fools are yapping at.

Sent to Capri

First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany I*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*
Vol. 35, pp. 50-51

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

Dear A. M.,

If you recognise that "our squabbles are produced by an irreconcilable difference of ideological roots"—that the same applies to the S.R.s (that it is the same with the Cadets —*Vekhi*—this you did not add, but there can be no doubt about it)—that there is being created a *reformist* (apt word!) party—then you *cannot* say both to the liquidator and to his enemy: "Both of you are squabblers."

In that case the business of those who have understood the ideological roots of the "squabble", without taking part in it, is to help the masses to *discover the roots*, and not to justify the masses for regarding the disputes as "a private matter between the generals".

We "leaders have not written a single clear book, not a a single sensible pamphlet"... Untrue. We wrote as best we could. No less clearly, no less sensibly, than before. And we have written a lot. There have been cases when we wrote against people without *any* "squabbling" (against *Vekhi*, against Chernov, against Rozhkov, etc.). [Do you see all the issues of *Nevskaya Zvezda*?[104]]

..."The result of this: among the workers in Russia there are a great number of good ... young people, but they are so furiously irritated with those abroad".... This is a fact; but it is not the fault of the "leaders", it is the result of the detachment, or, more truly, the *tearing asunder*, of Russia and the emigrant centres. What has been *torn asunder* must be tied together again, and to abuse the leaders is cheap and popular, but of little use ... "that they dissuade the workers from taking part in the conference"....

What conference? The one the liquidators are now calling? Why, we ourselves are dissuading them too! Isn't there some misunderstanding on your part about this?

I have read that Amfiteatrov has written, in some Warsaw paper,[105] if I am not mistaken, in favour of boycotting the Fourth Duma? Do you happen to have this article? Send it me, I will return it.

Things are warming up in the Baltic Fleet! I had a visit in Paris (this is between ourselves) by a special delegate sent by a meeting of the sailors and Social-Democrats. What's lacking is organisation—it's enough to make one weep!! If you have any officer contacts, you should make every effort to arrange something. The sailors are in a fighting mood, but they may all perish again in vain.

Your articles in *Zaprosy Zhizni* were not too good.[106] It's a strange journal, by the way—liquidationist-Trudovik-*Vekhi*. A "classless reformist" party just about sums it up....

You ask why I am in Austria. The C.C. has organised a Bureau here (between ourselves): the frontier is close by, we make use of it, it's nearer to Petersburg, we get the papers from there on the third day, it's become far easier to write to the papers there, co-operation with them goes better. There is less squabbling here, which is an advantage. There isn't a good library, which is a disadvantage. It's hard without books.

All the very best,

Yours,
Lenin

Greetings to M. F.

Written prior to August 25, 1912
Sent from Cracow to Capri

First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany I*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, pp. 54-55

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

Dear A. M.,

How is your health? Last time the news you sent me was not good—temperature rising, etc. Are you quite well again? Write a couple of words: I shall be very grateful.

Still nothing from you in *Pravda*. A pity. You ought to support the paper.

We are now "up to the ears" in the elections.[107] Absenteeism is damnably great. In the worker curia likewise. But still everywhere Social-Democrats have been elected. Very much depends on the outcome of the elections for the building up of the Party.

Have you heard anything about the liquidators' conference?[108]

In what journal will you be printed? What's happening about Znaniye?

All the best, and I wish you a speedy and sound recovery.

Regards to M.F.

Yours,

Lenin

P. S. My address is not Paris, but Cracow, Ulica Lubomirskiego. 47. Krakau.

P. P. S. Have you seen *Luch*? [109] Have you heard what sort of an undertaking *Dyen* is?[110] There are rumours that it is the organ of *Witte*....

Written at the beginning of October 1912

Sent to Capri

First published in *Bakinsky Rabochy* No. 17, 1927

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, p. 58

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

Dear A. M.,

The other day I had a letter from the editorial board of *Pravda* in Petersburg, in which they ask me to write to you that they would be extremely glad of your regular contributions. "We would like to offer Gorky 25 kopeks a line, but we are afraid of offending him." That's what they write to me.

To my mind, there is nothing at all to be offended at. Nobody could even dream of your contributions depending on considerations of payment. In the same way, everybody knows that the workers' *Pravda*, which usually pays 2 kopeks a line, and still more frequently pays nothing, cannot attract anyone by its fees.

But there is nothing bad about contributors to a workers' paper receiving regular payment, however small it may be. In fact, it's all to the good. The circulation is now 20-25 thousand. It's time it began thinking of a proper arrangement about payment for contributions. What is bad about *everybody* working on a workers' paper beginning to earn a little? And how can there be anything offensive in this proposal?

I am sure that the fears of the Petersburg editors of *Pravda* are quite without foundation, and that you will not treat their proposal otherwise than in comradely fashion. Write a couple of words, either to them direct at the office, or to me.

Tomorrow is the election of electors in Petersburg (for the worker curia). The struggle with the liquidators has developed. In Moscow and Kharkov the Party people have won.

Have you seen *Luch*, and do you get it at all? There are people who have fiddled the cards and pretend to be "kind-hearted"!

I have seen an advertisement for *Krugozor*.[111] Is this your undertaking, or are you there by invitation?

Every good wish, and above all for your health.

Greetings to M. F.

Yours,
Lenin

47, Ulica Lubomirskiego, Krakau.

Written on October 17, 1912
Sent to Capri

First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany I*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, pp. 59-60

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

I had hardly posted my previous letter when I received yours about the library. The plan to collect material on the history of the revolution is magnificent. I welcome it with all my heart and wish it success.

As for Bebutov, he told me when I met him in May in Berlin that he had given the library to the Vorstand (the C.C. of the German Social-Democrats) *in such a way* that *he could not take it back*. I have his letter saying that this library was to be donated to the Social-Democratic Party when it was united, etc. I'm afraid that means there's nothing to be done. But all the same *you* ought to try to get in touch with Bebutov.

Vl. Ilyin

Written in the second half of October 1912

Sent from Cracow to Capri

First published in 1961 in *V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gorky*, 2nd ed.

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 43, pp. 304-05

From V. I. LENIN'S LETTER TO THE EDITOR OF *PRAVDA*

Dear Colleague,

I wrote to Gorky as you requested, and received a reply from him today. He writes:

"Send the enclosed note to *Pravda*. There is no question of fee, that is nonsense. I will work for the paper, and will soon begin sending it manuscripts. I couldn't do it up to now only because I have been desperately busy, putting in about 12 hours a day; it's back-breaking work."

As you see, Gorky's attitude is very friendly.* I hope you will reciprocate, and *see* that *Pravda* is sent to him *regularly*. The forwarding department sometimes slips up, so that from time to time you must check and check again.

If you want to retain his friendly interest, send him (through me) any new publication which might be of interest to him, and also any particular manuscripts.

Yours....

Written after November 2, 1912
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg

First published in 1956
in the journal *Kommunist* No. 5

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 36, p. 200

* I enclose Gorky's letter to *Sovremenny Mir* requesting them to hand his *Tales* over to you. *Get it as soon as possible.*

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

Dear Al. M.,

It seems a long time since we have had any word from you. How are you getting on? Are you well?

I received today No. 187 of *Pravda* with the subscriptions for 1913. The paper is having a hard passage: since the summer decline in circulation, the rise has been *very* slow, and a deficit remains. They have even temporarily stopped payment to two permanent contributors, which has made our position exceptionally difficult.

We propose to develop intensive agitation among the workers for *subscriptions*, and to use the money collected to strengthen the paper and expand it, because since the opening of the Duma there has been no room at all for articles.

I hope you too will take part in the agitation for subscriptions, in order to help in "rescuing" the paper. In what form? If you have a tale or something suitable, the announcement of it will make very good agitation. If not, send them a promise to provide one in the near future, and particularly in 1913. Finally, a few simple lines, in a *letter to the workers* from you, about the importance of supporting the workers' paper *actively* (by subscriptions, sales, collections), would also be splendid agitation.

Please drop a line about one or the other—direct to the editor of *Pravda* (2 Yamskaya, St. Petersburg) or to me here. (Ulijanow, 47, Lubomirskiego, Krakau).

Probably there will be no war, and we shall remain here for the time being, "taking advantage" of the desperate hatred of the Poles towards tsarism.

The liquidators are now carrying on an attack *against*

revolutionary strikes! They've sunk to that. There is talk of a strike and demonstration for January 9.

Among the workers' deputies, for the first time in the three Dumas (2nd, 3rd, 4th), all six deputies from the chief gubernias are on the side of the Party.[112] Things are difficult, but still the cause is going ahead.

Have you seen the "defence" of Ropshin in *Zavety*,[113] in the name of "freedom of thought and criticism" (in reply to the letter to the editor from Natanson and Co.)? That is worse than any liquidationism—renegacy which is muddled, cowardly, evasive and nonetheless systematic.

We are swimming "against the stream".... One has now to fight *for* revolutionary agitation among the masses against very many "would-be revolutionaries".... Among the mass of the workers there is unquestionably a revolutionary mood, but the new democratic intelligentsia (including the workers' intelligentsia) with a revolutionary ideology is growing up slowly, lagging behind, can't yet catch up.

Very warm greetings.

Write me a couple of words.

Yours,

Lenin

P.S. Greetings to M. F.! She has somehow fallen quite, quite silent....

Written on December 22 or 23, 1912
Sent to Capri

First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany I*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, pp. 67-68

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

Dear A. M.,

New Year's greetings to you, too! I wish you all the very best, and above all health! We have Malinovsky, Petrovsky and Badayev staying with us just now. Yesterday I received your letter and read it out to them. They were all extraordinarily pleased. Malinovsky wanted to visit you, but probably the distance will be a barrier. Ah, if only you could be nearer to us.... If your health permitted, you could transfer to the local Galician health resorts like Zakopane, find a healthy place in the mountains, two days nearer to Russia; we could get more frequent visits from the workers, once again organise a workers' school:[114] crossing the frontier is not difficult, the price of the journey from Petersburg is 12 rubles, contacts with the workers of Moscow and the South are also possible.... I've been really day-dreaming in connection with M. F.'s journey[115].... That was a wonderful idea of hers, really wonderful. Make sure to drop me a line, when you have a chance, whether she has succeeded in getting her legal papers (probably she will succeed). Also let me know how Malinovsky can find her in Petersburg or in Moscow. Through Tikhonov? If we can't find some cash to expand and strengthen *Pravda*, it will perish. The deficit is now 50-60 rubles a day. We have to increase the circulation, reduce costs, expand the paper. We have held out for 200 issues—a record. After all, we are influencing twenty to thirty thousand worker-readers systematically in a Marxist spirit: it is something really big, and we should be damnably sorry if the paper went under. We are discussing with the deputies, from every point of view and in every possible way, how to get *Pravda* out of its difficulties, but fear that without financial help from outside we won't succeed.

Malinovsky, Petrovsky and Badayev send you warm greetings and best wishes. They are good fellows, especially the first. Really, it is possible to build a workers' party with such people, though the difficulties are incredibly great. The base at Cracow has proved to be useful: our move to Cracow has fully "paid for itself" (from the point of view of the cause). The deputies confirm that a revolutionary mood is unquestionably growing among the mass of the workers. If we now create a good proletarian organisation, without obstacles from the treacherous liquidators—the devil knows what victories we can then win when the movement from below develops....

What you write about letters from Russia is remarkably interesting and characteristic. Menshevik workers say that Russia has outlived Marx!! And this is not the only case. The liquidators introduce such corruption, such a spirit of treachery, such desertion, as it is difficult to imagine. And in addition, thousands of intrigues for "uniting" with them: the only way to make a mess of the *whole* cause, to spoil the building of the Party, which has had a difficult start, is once again to begin the intrigues="unity" with the liquidators. Well, the battle isn't over yet....

I am ready to share with all my heart in your joy at the return of the *Vperyod* group, *if*.... *if* your supposition is justified that "Machism, god-building and all that nonsense has been dumped for ever", as you write. If that is so, if the *Vperyod* people have understood this or will understand it now, then I warmly join in your delight at their return. But I underline "*if*" because this, so far, is still a hope rather than a fact. Do you remember, on Capri in the spring of 1908, our "last meeting" with Bogdanov, Bazarov and Lunacharsky? Do you remember how I said that we should have to part company for two or three years, and how then M. F., in the chair, furiously protested, calling me to order, etc.!

It has turned out to be four and a half, nearly five years. And this is not very long, for such a period of the most profound collapse as occurred in 1908-11. I don't know whether Bogdanov, Bazarov, Volsky (a semi-anarchist), Lunacharsky, Alexinsky are *capable of learning* from the painful experience of 1908-11. Have they understood that *Marxism* is a more serious and more profound thing than it seemed to them, that one cannot scoff at it, as Alexinsky used to do, or dismiss it as something dead, as the others did? *If* they have understood

this—a thousand greetings to them, and everything personal (inevitably brought in by the sharpness of the struggle) will in one moment be thrown on the scrap-heap. But if they haven't understood it, if they haven't learned anything, then don't hold it against me: friendship is friendship, but duty is duty. Against attempts to abuse Marxism or to confuse the policy of the workers' party we shall fight without sparing our lives.

I am *very* glad it is through *Pravda*, which did not directly attack them, that the *way* has been found for the gradual return of the *Vperyod* people. Very glad. But for the sake of a *lasting* rapprochement, we must now move towards it slowly and *cautiously*. That is what I have written to *Pravda* too. And friends of the reunion of the Vperyodists with us must bend their efforts to this also: a careful, tested *return* of the Vperyodists *from* Machism, otzovism, god-building[116] can yield great results. The least carelessness, any "recurrence of the Machist, otzovist, etc., disease", and the struggle will burst out still more violently.... I have not read the new *Philosophy of Living Experience* by Bogdanov, probably the same old Machism in a new dress....

We have excellent connections with Sergei Moiseyev in Paris. We have known him a long time, and are working together. He is a real Party man and Bolshevik. It is with such people that we are building the Party, but there are damnably few of them left.

Once again I wish you the best: I must finish this letter, which has become indecently long. Good health!

Yours,

Lenin

N. K. sends her warm greetings!

(Some more good workers from Russia have gathered here. We are organising a conference.[117] Alas, we haven't the money, or we could get a devil of a lot done from this base!)

I am writing to *Pravda* today that they, after asking Tikhonov, should print a notice that Tikhonov and you are in charge of the Literary department of *Pravda*. Isn't that so? Write to them yourself, if they don't print it.

Written prior to January 8, 1913
Sent from Cracow to Capri
First published in 1925
in *Lenin Miscellany III*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, pp. 69-72

From V. I. LENIN'S LETTER TO L. B. KAMENEV

Yesterday an extremely friendly letter arrived from Gorky, who appears to be utterly "charmed" at the *Vperyod* people joining *Pravda*.

He writes that he and Tikhonov will take the literary section of *Pravda*, ... and that "Machism, god-building and all that nonsense have faded out for good". Splendid!...

On the whole things seem to be *on the upgrade*. Financially *Pravda* is hard up, but we pin our hopes now on Gorky.

All the best,

Yours,

Lenin

Written on January 8, 1913
Sent from Cracow to Paris

First published in 1964
in V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*,
Vol. 48, 5th Russ. ed.

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*,
Vol. 43, pp. 325-26

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

January 21, 1913

Dear A. M.,

The comrade who will forward this letter on to you is Troyanovsky, who now lives in Vienna. He and his wife have now energetically taken in hand *Prosveshcheniye*.[118] He has raised a little money, and we hope that thanks to their energy and assistance we shall succeed in putting up a small Marxist journal against the renegade liquidators. I think you, too, will not refuse help for *Prosveshcheniye*.

Yours,
Lenin

P. S. I hope you received my long letter concerning the *Vperyod* people.[119] How on earth did you get yourself into *Luch*??? Not in the wake of the deputies,[120] surely? But they simply got caught in the trap and will probably soon leave it.

Sent from Cracow to Capri
First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany I*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*,
Vol. 43, pp. 333-34

From A. M. GORKY'S LETTER TO AN UNIDENTIFIED PERSON

A[lexander] N[ikolayevich] T[ikhonov] should know the following:

Ilyich writes me:

"I am ready to share with all my heart in your joy at the return of the *Vperyod* group, *if* ... *if* your supposition is justified that 'Machism, god-building and all that nonsense has been dumped for ever.' But I underline *if* because this, so far, is still a hope rather than a fact. Do you remember, at yours in the spring of 1908, our meeting with Bog[danov[, Baz[arov] and Lunach[arsky]? Do you remember how I said that 'we should have to part company for two or three years?'" We parted for nearly five.

And further: "I am very glad it is through *Pravda*, which *did not directly attack them*, that the way has been found for the return of the *Vperyod* people." The underlining is mine, as you will understand!

"But for the sake of a *lasting* rapprochement we must now move towards it *cautiously*. That is what I have written to *Pravda* too. The least carelessness and the recurrence of the disease and the struggle against it will burst out still more violently. I have not read the new *Philosophy of Living Experience* by Bog[danov], probably the same old Machism in a new dress"....

Written before January 25, 1913
Published for the first time

Printed from the original
(A. M. Gorky archives)

A. M. GORKY TO V. I. LENIN

Dear Ilyich,

The other day I sent an extract from your letter regarding the *Vperyod* group[121] to Tikhonov & Co., and so that you should know in what form exactly I conveyed your words I am sending you a copy of that extract.

The reason for doing this was Lunacharsky's article in the newspaper *Dyen* and his article in *Kievskaya Mysl*[122] "Between Fear and Hope"—a piece of semi-mystic writing which justifies your cautious attitude towards one of the members of the group. Tikhonov should be told about this attitude as an editor. Do you have anything against my having done this?

A few days ago we collected several hundred rubles for the Moscow newspaper. In February we shall raise a little more.[123] It is highly probable that a St. Petersburg book publisher will undertake publication of collections of modern literature of 10 to 15 sheets at 25-35 kopeks, and we shall offer them to *Pravda* as supplements—subscription prizes. Subscriptions are needed. The collections will increase circulation. We shall give good material. That's still on the carpet, therefore we shall keep silent about it. Silent, because there will probably be an argument about the editor of the collections; the post, though having no honorarium attached to it, is an honorary one, especially for persons of dubitable reputation in the political sense and those who have sinned against democracy.

From all the plans and suppositions of the Russian intelligentsia, it is clear beyond any doubt that socialist thought is interlarded with various currents radically hostile to it. They include mysticism, and metaphysics, and opportunism, and reformism, and relapses into Narodism, which has outlived itself. All these currents are all the more hostile for

they are extremely indefinite, and, not having their own platforms, cannot determine themselves with sufficient clarity.

It is necessary to help them as much as possible to come out into the street and then show them up. The *Zavety* are clarifying themselves, they have come out into the street and cause surprise by their motley costume. They will probably be followed by the Trudoviks in *Krugozor*, then by the *Sever[niye] Zapiski*.[124]

It is time we had our journal, but we haven't a sufficient number of people who have come properly to terms with each other for this.

Let me know what you think of I. I. Stepanov. And who—in Russia—would you suggest for the role of organiser of the journal's politico-economic section?

Written on January 25, 1913
Sent from Capri to Cracow

First published in 1955
in M. Gorky, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed.

Printed from M. Gorky, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, pp. 293-94

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

Dear A. M.,

Of course, I have nothing against your sending my letter to Tikhonov.

After your account I have become interested in Lunacharsky's article "Between Fear and Hope". Couldn't you send it to me, if you have a copy? If you want it I shall return it without fail.

The collections for the Moscow paper rejoiced us greatly. *Our* trio of deputies from Moscow Region—Malinovsky, Shagov and Samoilov—will set about this. That has already been agreed. But care is needed: before consolidating *Pravda*, we cannot set about a Moscow paper. We have a plan for organising a *Moskovskaya Pravda*.[125]

Please write to Tikhonov that he should talk *only* to Badayev and *Malinovsky*—but he must talk with them.

I was particularly glad of the following words in your letter: "From all the plans and suppositions of the Russian intelligentsia, it is clear beyond any doubt that socialist thought is interlarded with various currents *radically* hostile to it. They include mysticism, and metaphysics, and opportunism, and reformism, and relapses into Narodism. All these currents are *all the more* hostile because they are *extremely indefinite* and, not having their own platforms, cannot determine themselves with sufficient clarity."

I underline the words which have particularly delighted me. That's just it: "radically hostile", and all the more so because they are indefinite. You ask, for example, about Stepanov (I. I.). What did he turn out to be in the era of collapse and vacillation, 1908-11 (yet he was a good fellow, a hard worker, well-read, etc.)? He wanted to make peace

with the Vperyodists. But then that means that he was wobbling himself.

He wrote letters to me about giving up the democratic revolution in Russia as a bad job, that in our country things would proceed without revolution, on Austrian lines. I branded him as a liquidator for these philistine ideas. He was offended. And then *Larin* blurted out his ideas in print.

Now Stepanov is *demonstratively* writing not for us but for Rozhkov's paper *Novaya Sibir*[126] at Irkutsk. And do you know what "trend" Rozhkov has discovered? Did you read his article in *Nasha Zarya* of 1911 and my reply in *Zvezda*?[127] And Rozhkov has *dug himself in* as an arch-opportunist. And Stepanov? Allah knows. That's just it: an "extremely indefinite" and muddled position. I should *never* entrust any at all independent department to Stepanov now: he himself doesn't know where he will jump next. But probably he could be a useful contributor. He is one of those who haven't "seen clearly". To commission him to "organise" a department means to kill *both him* and the department for certain.

You write: "It's time we had our journal, but we haven't a sufficient number of people who have come properly to terms with each other for this."

I don't accept the second part of this sentence. The journal would *oblige* a sufficient number of people to *come to terms* with each other, provided there was a journal, provided there was a *nucleus*.

A nucleus does exist, but there is no full-size journal for external reasons—no money. If we had money, I am sure we could manage a full-size journal even now, because in addition to the *nucleus* of contributors we could, for payment, draw in *a lot of people* by giving out subjects and allocating jobs.

So long as we have no money, we must in my opinion not only dream but build upon what we've got, in other words, on *Prosveshcheniye*. Of course, it's a little fish, but in the first place a big fish, like everything else, grows from a little one. Secondly, better a little fish than a big cockroach.

It's time, high time, to *begin* coming to terms, if we want to have "people who have come to terms" in large numbers.

"It's time we had our journal." The literary nucleus is there. The correctness of the line has been confirmed by the experience of 12 years (or even 20), and particularly by the experience of the last six years. We should gather around this

nucleus, thereby defining it in greater detail, training it up and expanding. We *had* to begin with the illegal one and with *Pravda*. But we don't want to *stop* at that. And therefore, once you have said that "it's time we had our journal", allow me to call you to account for these words: *either* to draft out at once a plan of enquiries for money for a full-size journal with such-and-such a programme, such-and-such an editorial board and such-and-such a body of contributors, *or* to begin on the same plan expanding *Prosveshcheniye*.

Or more truly, not *either-or*, but *both*.

I await your reply. You probably have already had a letter from Vienna about *Prosveshcheniye*. There is a reliable hope of consolidating it for 1913 in a smaller form. You want us to "have our journal", then let's push it ahead together.

I haven't heard anything about the Dashnaks.[128] But I think it's a nonsensical rumour. It's been started by the government, which wants to swallow up Turkish Armenia.

The P.P.S.[129] are undoubtedly *for* Austria and will fight for her. A war between Austria and Russia would be a very useful thing for the revolution (throughout Eastern Europe), but it's not very probable that Franz-Josef and Nicky will give us this pleasure.

You ask me to keep you better informed. With pleasure—only you must reply. I send you (for the time being confidentially) the resolutions of our recent conference (which in my view was very successful and will play its part).

Resolutions, they say, are of all forms of literature the most boring. I am a man who has consumed too many resolutions. Drop me a line about how readable they are for you (especially about revolutionary strikes and about the liquidators).

What bad effect has the rumour about an amnesty had in Russia? I don't know. Drop me a line.

N. K. sends her regards.

All the best,

Yours,
Lenin

Written after January 25, 1913
Sent from Cracow to Capri
First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany I*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, pp. 74-77

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

Dear A. M.,

Now, sir, what's the meaning of this bad behaviour of yours? You're overworked, tired, your nerves are out of order. This is all wrong. In Capri of all places, and in the winter when there are probably less "visitors", you ought to have a regular way of life. You have no one to look after you, is that why you have let yourself slide like this? Honestly, it's no good. Pull yourself together and give yourself a stricter régime, really. Falling ill in times like these just isn't allowed. Have you begun working at night? Why, when I was on Capri, I was told that it was only with my coming that things had got out of hand, while before me everyone went to bed at the right time. You must rest and establish a régime, without fail.

I will write to Troyanovsky and his wife about your wish to meet them. This would be a really good thing. They are good people. We haven't seen much of them at work yet, but everything we have heard up to now speaks in their favour. They also have money. They might get into their stride and do a great deal for the journal. Troyanovskaya is going to Russia soon.

It is a great joy to me, and to all of us, that you are *taking up Prosveshcheniye*. I confess that I did have the thought: now as soon as I write about our little journal, A. M. will lose his enthusiasm. I repent, I repent of such thoughts.

Now it really will be splendid if little by little we draw in fiction writers and set *Prosveshcheniye* going! Excellent! The reader is new, proletarian; we shall make the journal cheap; you will let in only democratic fiction, without moaning, without renegade stuff. We shall consolidate the workers. And the workers now are fine. Our six deputies in the Duma

from the worker curia have now begun to work *outside the Duma* so energetically that it is a joy to see. This is where people will build up a real workers' party! We were never able to bring this off in the Third Duma. Have you seen the letter in *Luch* (No. 24) from the four deputies about their resignation?[130] A good letter, wasn't it?

And have you seen in *Pravda* how mildly Alexinsky is writing, and so far not making a row? Wonderful! He sent one "Manifesto" (why he entered *Pravda*). They didn't print it. And still, *so far*, he is not making a row. Won-der-ful! But Bogdanov is making a row: a piece of exceptional stupidity in *Pravda* No. 24. No, we shall never get anywhere with him! I have read his *Engineer Mannie*. It's the same old Machism=idealism, so concealed that neither the workers nor the stupid editors of *Pravda* understood it. No, this Machist is as hopeless as Lunacharsky (thanks for his article). If only Lunacharasky could be separated from Bogdanov in aesthetics, as Alexinsky has begun to draw apart from him in politics ... if only....

As regards the theory of matter and its structure, I am fully in agreement with you that one should write about it, and that it is a good remedy against "the poison which the shapeless Russian soul is sucking". Only you are wrong to call this poison "metaphysics". It ought to be called *idealism* and agnosticism.

For the Machists call materialism metaphysics! And it so happens that a *host* of the most prominent present-day physicists, *on the occasion* of the "wonders" of radium, electrons, etc., are smuggling in the *God business*—both the crudest and the most subtle—in the shape of philosophical idealism.

As regards nationalism I am fully in agreement with you that we ought to take this up more seriously. We have a marvellous Georgian who has sat down to write a big article for *Prosveshcheniye*, for which he has collected *all* the Austrian and other materials.[131] We shall go at this hard. But that our resolutions (I am sending them in printed form) "are formalities, bureaucracy", there your abuse is off target. No. It's not a formality. In Russia and in the Caucasus the Georgian + Armenian + Tartar + Russian Social-Democrats have worked *together*, in a *single* Social-Democratic organisation *for more than ten years*. This is not a phrase, but the proletarian solution of the problem of nationalities. The

only solution. So it was in Riga too: Russians | Letts+ Lithuanians. *Only the separatists*—the Bund—used to stand aloof. The same at Vilna.

There are two good Social-Democratic pamphlets on the nationalities problem: Strasser and Pannekoek. Would you like me to send them to you? Will you find anyone to translate them from the German for you?

No, the disgusting situation that exists in Austria *won't happen* here. We won't allow it! And there are more of our Great Russians here. With the workers on our side we won't let in any of the "Austrian spirit".

As regards Pyatnitsky, I am *for* prosecution. There is no need to stand on ceremony. Sentimentalism would be unforgivable. Socialists are not at all against use of the state court. We are *for* making use of legality. Marx and Bebel made use of the state court *even* against their socialist opponents. One must know *how* to do it, but it must be done.

Pyatnitsky must be prosecuted, and no nonsense. If you hear reproaches against you for this—spit in the mugs of those who make them. It is the hypocrites who will reproach you. To give way to Pyatnitsky, to let him off for fear of going to court, would be *unforgivable.*[132]

Well, I have chattered more than enough. Write and tell me about your health.

Yours,
Lenin

P. S. We know *Foma*-Piterets. He is now at Narym. Foma from the Urals? We don't seem to remember him. At the Congress of 1907 there was a Foma-Piterets.

Written between February 15 and 25, 1913

Sent from Cracow to Capri

First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany I*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, pp. 83-85

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

Dear A. M.,

I have read the "Manifesto" today[133]....

It seems there is a complete amnesty for writers. You should try to get back—*having first found out, of course, whether they won't play you a dirty trick on account of the "school"*,[134] etc. Probably they won't be able to prosecute you for this.

I hope you don't take the view that one mustn't "accept" an amnesty? This would be wrong. A revolutionary, as things are today, will do *more* from inside Russia, and our deputies even sign "the solemn oath".

But you don't have to sign anything, only to make use of the amnesty. Drop me a line about your opinion and your *plans*. Perhaps you will call here if you do move—after all, it's on your way!

And for a revolutionary writer to have the possibility of roaming around Russia (the new Russia) means that he is afterwards able to hit a hundred times harder at the Romanovs and Co....

Did you get my last letter? Somehow we haven't had news from you for a long time. Are you well?

Yours,
Lenin

P. S. Did you get the letter from N. K. with the *material*?[135]

Written after March 6, 1913
Sent from Cracow to Capri

First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany I*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, p. 92

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

Dear A. M.,

How do you stand about a little article or a story for the *May* issue of *Prosveshcheniye*? They write to me from there that they could publish *10-15 thousand* (that's how we are marching ahead!), if there were something from you. Drop me a line whether there will be. Then *Pravda* reprints it, and we get 40,000 readers. Yes ... the affairs of *Prosveshcheniye* could begin to prosper; otherwise there *does not exist*, devil take it, a single consistent journal for the workers, for the *Social-Democrats*, for revolutionary democracy; nothing but rotten sour-pusses of one kind or another.

How is your health? Have you rested, and will you be taking a rest in the summer? It is essential, my word on it, that you should have a *good* rest!

Things are not too well with me. The wife is down with goitre. Nerves! My nerves are also playing me up a little. We are spending the summer in the village of Poronin, near Zakopane. (My address is: Herrn Wl. Ulianow, *Poronin*, *Galizien*, Austria.) It's a good place, and healthy. Height about 700 metres. Suppose you took it into your head to pay us a visit? There will be interesting workers from Russia. Zakopane (seven versts from us) is a well-known health resort.

Have you seen Demyan Bedny's *Fables*? I will send them if you haven't. If you have, write and say what you think of them.

Do you get *Pravda* and *Luch* regularly? Our cause is going ahead — in spite of everything — and the workers' party is being built up as a *revolutionary* Social-Democratic party, against the liberal renegades, the liquidators. We shall have cause to celebrate one day. We are rejoicing just now at the

victory of the workers in Petersburg over the liquidators when the Board of the new Metalworkers' Union was elected.

And "your" Lunacharsky is a fine one!! Oh, what a fine fellow! Maeterlinck, he says, has "scientific mysticism".... Or Lunacharsky and Bogdanov are perhaps no longer yours?

Joking apart. *Keep well.* Send me a couple of words. *Rest* as well as you can.

Yours,
Lenin

Ulianow, Austria. *Poronin* (Galizien).
How did you find the jubilee number of *Pravda*?

Written not earlier than May 9-10, 1913

Sent to Capri

First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany I*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, pp. 97-98

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

Dear A. M.,

I wrote you from Cracow ever so long ago, but no reply.

A letter has arrived today from Russia, from Odessa, saying that *Stark* (?) (from Capri) is surprised I did not tell the man from Odessa what I had learned from Stark and *from you* (!) about the Odessa Bolshevik newspaper!!

What is this misunderstanding, where does it come from?? I told the man from Odessa that you had been writing me about a Bolshevik Odessa paper of which I knew *nothing*. I still know nothing.[136] The man from Odessa writes that "Malyantovich junior" is a participant there. This is the first I hear of it. What Malyantovich is that? Nikitich's? (personally I don't know a single Malyantovich). The lawyer in Moscow or somebody else?

Write what you know about it. This misunderstanding has to be cleared up.

I have moved to *Poronin* (near Zakopane) for the summer for my wife's health. I am going to Berne with her round about 27.VI.1913 for an operation. My address is: *Poronin* (Galizien). Austria.

I shall be in Berne for 2-3 weeks. You can address your letters to me there: Herrn Schklowsky. 9. Falkenweg. 9. *Bern* (for Lenin).

How are you getting on? Has your health improved since the spring? I wish you with all my heart to get better and have a good rest.

Yours,
Lenin

Written prior to June 22, 1913
Sent to Capri

First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany I*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 43, pp. 355-56

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

Dear Al. Max.,

We have had a letter today from Petersburg that our plan for a visit of the Social-Democratic deputies here is close to fulfilment (*extra-conspiratively*: it has been decided not to say a word to anyone except you). In addition to the six supporters of *Pravda* it is possible, they write, that Tulyakov, Buryanov, Khaustov and even, maybe, Mankov may come. Probably they will manage to draw in some of the workers as well (non-deputies). Write, please, whether you could come (for a number of lectures, or talks, or classes, just as you please). It would be a fine thing! Seven kilometres from here by rail is Zakopane, a very good health resort. As regards money for the journey, we shall raise it, in all probability (so they write). We can collect and send you all the information about Zakopane as a health resort.

If your health permits, do come for a short time! You would meet more workers, after the ones at London[137] and the Capri school.

Malinovsky wanted to visit you but didn't manage it, he was short of time. He and all the deputies send you warm greetings.

I await your reply.

Yours,
Lenin

The newspapers are full of reports about the "conflict"[138]. I think they are going to stifle *Pravda* for us. Maklakov will bring this off one way or another—by-passing the Duma, against the Duma or in some other way, but bring it off he will![139]

In that case we shall turn again to illegal literature—but we have no money.

Hasn't the "merchant" begun to contribute yet?[140] It is time, just the right time.

Address: Herrn Wl. Ulianow. *Poronin* (Galizien). Autriche.

Written not later than June 22, 1913

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, pp. 105-06

Sent to Capri

First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany I*

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

25/VII, 1913

Dear A. M.,

I have kept on intending to write to you, and then putting it off on account of my wife's operation. The other day at last the operation took place, and things are now on the mend. The operation proved a rather difficult one: I am very glad indeed that we managed to get Kocher to operate.

Now to business. You wrote that you would be in Berlin in August. When in August? At the beginning or at the end? We intend to leave here on August 4. Our tickets take us through Zurich, Munich and Vienna, and we shall break the journey in each of these cities. (Possibly the doctor will not let us leave so soon as the 4th: in that case we shall postpone it again.)

Couldn't we see each other somewhere? In all probability it would suit you to travel through Berne, or through Zurich, or through Munich, wouldn't it?

There is *great* need for us to meet. The closing down of *Pravda* creates a devilishly difficult situation. Perhaps we could think of something. Then in Berlin you could do a very great deal for us, i.e., for *Pravda*.

Therefore I beg you to write *immediately*, be it only two words, whether our meeting is possible, either here or in the places mentioned, at the beginning of August? If it is *im*possible, I will write to you about everything in greater detail, particularly about the school (the arrest of the organiser* has spoilt things for us damnably; we are looking for another).

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* E. F. Rozmirovich. *Ed.*

I shake your hand warmly and wish you the best of luck, and most of all health for the journey. So reply *at once*!

Yours,

Lenin

Address: Herrn Ulianoff. 4. Gesellschaftsstrasse, 4. (Svizzera). *Bern.*

Sent to Capri

First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany I*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, pp. 107-08

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

September 30, 1913

Dear A. M.,

This reply has been delayed a little. Sorry. How devilishly furious I was in Berne, and later!! I thought: if you were in Verona (the telegram from you about Bebel was from Verona[141])—or in some Rom...?? Why, I *could* have come to Verona from Berne!! But from you at that time there was not a sound for *months*....

What you write about your illness worries me terribly. Are you doing the right thing in living without treatment at Capri? The Germans have excellent sanatoria (for example, at St. Blasien, near Switzerland) where they treat and *completely* cure lung diseases, achieve *complete* healing, feed you up, then systematically accustom you to cold, harden you against catching cold, and turn out fit people, able to work.

While you, after Capri, and in winter, want to go to Russia???? I am terribly afraid that this will injure your health and undermine your working capacity. Are there *first-class* doctors in that Italy of yours??

Really, go and visit some first-class doctor in Switzerland* or Germany, and set about a couple of months of *serious* treatment in a *good* sanatorium. Because to squander official property, i.e., to go on being ill and undermining your working capacity, is something quite intolerable in every respect.

I have heard (from the editor of *Prosveshcheniye*, who saw Ladyzhnikov) that you are dissatisfied with *Pravda*. Because it's dry? That is true. But it's not easy to correct this defect all at once. We haven't the people. With *great* difficulty,

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* I can find out names and addresses.

one year after it started, we secured a merely *tolerable* editorial board in Petersburg.

(I have forwarded your letter to *Prosveshcheniye*.)

Write what your plans are, and what your *health* is like. I earnestly ask you to *set about your treatment seriously*—really, it is *quite possible* to be cured, and to let it go on is simply outrageous and criminal.

Yours,
Lenin

P.S. Some of the people we have had here, and some we shall have, are good. *And have you seen "Nash Put"*? What a success, eh? Our second paper. We shall start a third, too, in the South.

Address: Ulianow. *Poronin* (Galizien). *Austria*. (During the winter I shall be in Cracow: Lubomirskiego. 51.)

Sent to Capri

First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany I*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*,
Vol. 35, pp. 112-13

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

Dear Alexei Maximych,

I am sending you today by registered book-post the beginning of a novel which is to go into *Prosveshcheniye*. We think that you will not object. But if, by any chance, you should, *cable* to *Prosveshcheniye*: "Postpone Voitinsky" or "*Don't carry* Voitinsky's novel".[142]

The news that you are being given a *new* kind of treatment by "a Bolshevik", even if a former one, has really worried me. The saints preserve us from comrade-doctors in general, and Bolshevik-doctors in particular! Really and truly, in 99 cases out of 100 the comrade-doctors are "asses", as a *good* doctor once said to me. I assure you that you should consult (except on minor complaints) *only* first-class men. It is terrible to try out on yourself the inventions of a Bolshevik! The only reassuring thing is the supervision of professors in Naples, if these professors really know their business.... You know, if you do go in winter, *in any case* call on some first-class doctors in *Switzerland* and in *Vienna*—there will be no excuse for not doing so! How do you feel now?

Yours,
N. Lenin

P.S. Over here things are not at all bad; in St. Petersburg, the workers are organising on *party* lines in *all* the legal societies, including the sick benefit societies. There were some interesting and practical lads here, too.

My address: Wl. Ulianow. Ulica Lubomirskiego, 51, *Kraków. Krakau (Galizien)*.

Written at the beginning of November 1913
Sent from Cracow to Capri
First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany I*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 36, p. 265

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

Dear A. M.,

Whatever are you doing? This is simply terrible, it really is!

Yesterday I read your reply in *Rech* to the "howling" over Dostoyevsky,[143] and was preparing to rejoice, but today the liquidators' paper arrives, and *in it there is a paragraph of your article* which was not in *Rech*.

This paragraph runs as follows:

"And 'god-seeking' should be *for the time being*" (only for the time being?) "put aside—it is a useless occupation: it's no use seeking where there is nothing to be found. Unless you sow, you cannot reap. You have no God, you have not *yet*" (yet!) "created him. Gods are not sought—*they are created*; people do not invent life, they create it."

So it turns out that you are against "god-seeking" only "for the time being"!! It turns out that you are against god-seeking *only* in order to replace it by god-building!!

Well, isn't it horrible that such a thing should *appear* in your article?

God-seeking differs from god-building or god-creating or god-making, etc., no more than a yellow devil differs from a blue devil. To talk about god-seeking, not in order to declare against *all* devils and gods, against every ideological necrophily (all worship of a divinity is necrophily—be it the cleanest, most ideal, not sought-out but built-up divinity, it's all the same), but to prefer a blue devil to a yellow one is a hundred times worse than not saying anything about it at all.

In the freest countries, in countries where it is *quite* out of place to appeal "to democracy, to the people, to public opinion and science", in such countries (America, Switzerland and so forth) particular zeal is applied to render the people and

the workers obtuse with just this very idea of a clean, spiritual, built-up god. Just because any religious idea, any idea of any god at all, any flirtation even with a god, is the most inexpressible foulness, particularly tolerantly (and often even favourably) accepted by the *democratic* bourgeoisie—for that very reason it is the most dangerous foulness, the most shameful "infection". A million *physical* sins, dirty tricks, acts of violence and infections are much more easily discovered by the crowd, and therefore are much less dangerous, than the *subtle*, spiritual idea of god, dressed up in the most attractive "ideological" costumes. The Catholic priest corrupting young girls (about whom I have just read by chance in a German newspaper) is *much less* dangerous, precisely to "democracy", than a priest without his robes, a priest without crude religion, an ideologically equipped and democratic priest preaching the creation and the invention of a god. For it is *easy* to expose, condemn and expel the first priest, while the second *cannot* be expelled so simply; to expose the latter is 1,000 times more difficult, and not a single "frail and pitifully wavering" philistine will agree to "condemn" him.

And you, knowing the "frailty and pitiful wavering" of the (Russian: why Russian? Is the Italian any better??) *philistine* soul, confuse that soul with the sweetest of poisons, most effectively disguised in lollipops and all kinds of gaily-coloured wrappings!!

Really, it is terrible.

"Enough of self-humiliation, which is our substitute for self-criticism."

And isn't god-building the *worst* form of self-humiliation?? Everyone who sets about building up a *God*, or who even merely tolerates such activity, *humiliates* himself in the worst possible way, because instead of "deeds" he is *actually* engaged in self-contemplation, self-admiration and, moreover, such a man "contemplates" the dirtiest, most stupid, most slavish features or traits of his "ego", deified by god-building.

From the point of view, not of the individual, but of society, *all* god-building is precisely the *fond self-contemplation* of the thick-witted philistine, the frail man in the street, the dreamy "self-humiliation" of the vulgar petty bourgeois, "exhausted and in despair" (as you condescended to say very truly about the *soul*: only you should have said, not "the Russian", but the *petty-bourgeois*, for the Jewish, the Italian,

the English varieties are all *one and the same devil*; stinking philistinism everywhere is equally disgusting—but "democratic philistinism", occupied in ideological necrophily, is particularly disgusting).

Reading your article over and over again, and *trying to discover* where this *slip* of your tongue could come from, I am at a loss. What does it mean? A relic of the "Confession", which *you yourself* did not approve?? Or its echo??

Or something different: for example, an unsuccessful attempt to *bend back* to the viewpoint of *democracy in general*, instead of the viewpoint of the *proletariat*? Perhaps it was in order to talk with "democracy in general" that you decided (excuse the expression) to indulge in baby-talk? Perhaps it was "for a popular exposition" to the *philistines* that you decided to accept for a moment *their*, the philistines', prejudices??

But then that is a *wrong* approach, in all senses and in all respects!

I wrote above that in *democratic* countries it would be *quite* out of place for a proletarian writer to appeal "to democracy, to the people, to public opinion and science". Well, but what about us in Russia?? Such an appeal is *not quite* appropriate, because it also in some ways flatters the prejudices of the philistines. A kind of general appeal, general to the point of vagueness—even Izgoyev of *Russkaya Mysl* will sign it with *both hands*. Why then select watch-words which *you* distinguish perfectly well from those of Izgoyev, but which the *reader* will not be able to distinguish?? Why throw a democratic veil over the question for the reader, instead of *clearly* distinguishing the *petty bourgeois* (frail, pitifully wavering, exhausted, despairing, self-contemplating, god-contemplating, god-building, god-indulging, self-humiliating, *uncomprehendingly-anarchistic*—wonderful word!! —et cetera, et cetera)

— from the *proletarians* (who know how to be of good cheer not only in words, and who are able to distinguish the "science and public opinion" of the *bourgeoisie* from their own, bourgeois democracy from proletarian democracy)?

Why do you do this?

It's damnably disappointing.

Yours,
V. I.

P.S. We sent you the novel by registered book post. Did you receive it?

P.P.S. Get as good *medical* treatment as you can, please, so that you can travel in the winter, *without colds* (it's dangerous in the winter).

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

Written on November 13 or 14, 1913

Sent from Cracow to Capri

First published in 1924 in *Pravda* No. 51

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, pp. 121-24

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

Dear A. M.,

I have received the novel[144] and your letter. My opinion is that the novel should be shelved, since you are *not in favour*. I enclose a letter from Kamenev, who read the novel (I have not read it yet).

We shall write to St. Petersburg to have them hold it up.

I enclose my letter of yesterday: don't be angry that I lost my temper. Perhaps I did not understand you *arigth*? Perhaps it was *as a joke* that you wrote "for a time"? Perhaps you weren't serious about god-building, either?

I entreat you to get the best possible treatment.

Yours,
Lenin

Written on November 14 or 15, 1913

Sent from Cracow to Capri

First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany I*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 36, p. 266

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

...* On the question of God, the god-like and everything connected with it, there is a contradiction in your position—the same, I think, which I used to point out in our talks when we last met in Capri. You broke (or appeared to break) with the *Vperyod* people, without having noticed the ideological basis of "Vperyodism".

The same has happened now. You are "most vexed", you "cannot understand how the words 'for the time being' crept in"—that is how you write—and yet at the same time you defend the idea of God and god-building.

"God is the complex of those ideas, worked out by the tribe, the nation, mankind, which awaken and organise social feelings, having as their object to link the individual with society and to bridle zoological individualism."

This theory is obviously connected with the theory or theories of Bogdanov and Lunacharsky.

And it is clearly wrong and clearly reactionary. Like the Christian socialists (the worst variety of "socialism", and its worst distortion), you make use of a method which (despite your best intentions) repeats the hocus-pocus of the priests: you eliminate from the idea of God everything about it that is *historical and drawn from real life* (filth, prejudices, sanctified ignorance and degradation, on the one hand, serfdom and monarchy, on the other), and instead of the reality of history and life there is substituted in the idea of God a gentle petty-bourgeois phrase (God = "ideas which awaken and organise social feelings").

Your wish in so doing is to say something "good and kind", to point out "truth and justice" and the like. But your good

* The beginning of the letter has never been found.—*Ed.*

wish remains your personal affair, a subjective "innocent desire". Once you have written it down, it goes out among the *masses*, and its *significance* is determined not by your good wishes, but by the *relationship of social forces*, the objective relationship of classes. By virtue of that relationship *it turns out* (irrespective of your will and independently of your consciousness) that you have put a good colour and a sugary coating on the idea of the clericals, the Purishkeviches, Nicholas II and the Struves, since *in practice* the idea of God helps *them* keep the people in slavery. By beautifying the idea of God, you have beautified the chains with which they fetter ignorant workers and peasants. There—the priests and Co. will say—what a good and profound idea this is (the idea of God), as even "*your*" leaders recognise, Messrs. democrats: and we (the priests and Co.) serve that idea.

It is untrue that God is the complex of ideas which awaken and organise social feelings. That is Bogdanov *idealism*, which suppresses the material origin of ideas. God is (in history and in real life) first of all the complex of ideas generated by the brutish subjection of man both by external nature and by the class yoke—ideas which *consolidate* that subjection, *lull to sleep* the class struggle. There was a time in history when, in spite of such an origin and such a real meaning of the idea of God, the struggle of democracy and of the proletariat went on in the form of a struggle of *one religious* idea against another.

But that time, too, is long past.

Nowadays both in Europe and in Russia *any*, even the most refined and best-intentioned, defence or justification of the idea of God is a justification of reaction.

Your entire definition is reactionary and bourgeois, through and through. God = the complex of ideas which "awaken and organise social feelings, having as their object to link the individual with society and to bridle zoological individualism".

Why is this reactionary? Because it falsely colours the idea of "bridling" zoology preached by priests and feudals. In reality, "zoological individualism" was bridled not by the idea of God, it was bridled both by the primitive herd and the primitive community. The idea of God *always* put to sleep and blunted the "social feelings", replacing the living by the dead, being *always* the idea of slavery (the worst, hopeless slavery). Never has the idea of God "linked the

individual with society": it has always *tied* the oppressed *classes hand and foot* with faith in the *divinity* of the oppressors.

Your definition is bourgeois (and not scientific, not historical) because it operates with sweeping, general, "Robinson Crusoe" conceptions in general, not with definite *classes* in a definite historical epoch.

The idea of God among the Zyrian savages, etc. (including semi-savages) is one thing. With Struve and Co. it is something quite different. In both cases class domination supports this idea (and this idea supports it). The "popular" conception of God and the divine is "popular" ignorance, degradation, darkness, just like the "popular conception" of the tsar, the devil and dragging wives by the hair. I completely fail to understand how you can call the "popular conception" of God "democratic".

It is untrue that philosophical idealism "always has in view only the interests of the individual". Did Descartes have the interests of the individual more in mind than Gassendi? Or Fichte and Hegel as compared with Feuerbach?

That "god-building is the process of the further development and accumulation of social elements in the individual and society" is simply terrible!! If there were freedom in Russia, the entire bourgeoisie would praise you to the skies for such things, for such sociology and theology of a purely bourgeois type and character.

Well, that's enough for the time being: this letter is too long as it is. Once again, I shake your hand and wish you good health.

Yours,
V. I.

Written in the second half of November 1913

Sent from Cracow to Capri

First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany I*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works.* Vol. 35, pp. 127-29

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

January 11, 1916

Dear Alexei Maximovich,

I am sending you at the *Letopis* address, not for *Letopis* but for the publishing house, the manuscript of a pamphlet and request you to publish it.[145]

I have tried in as popular a form as possible to set forth new data about America which, I am convinced, are particularly suitable for popularising Marxism and substantiating it by means of facts. I hope I have succeeded in setting out these important data clearly and comprehensibly for the new sections of the reading public which are multiplying in Russia and need an explanation of the world's economic evolution.

I should like to continue, and subsequently also to publish, a second part—about Germany.

I am setting to work on a pamphlet about imperialism.[146]

Owing to war-time conditions I am in extreme need of earnings, and would therefore ask, if it is possible and will not embarrass you too much, to speed up publication of the pamphlet.

Yours with respect,
V. Ilyin

The address is Mr. Wl. Oulianoff, Seidenweg, *4-a*, *Berne*, (Suisse).

Sent to Petrograd

First published in 1925
in *Lenin Miscellany III*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, p. 212

V I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

For A. M. Gorky

Dear Alexei Maximovich,

I am sending you under registered cover my wife's booklet, *Public Education and Democracy.*[147]

The author has long been studying educational questions, over twenty years. The booklet is based both on her personal observations and on material about new educational developments in Europe and America. From the contents you will see that the first half also contains a sketch of the history of democratic views. This is also very important, because the views of the great democrats of the past are usually set forth wrongly, or from the wrong standpoint. I don't know whether you are able yourself to take time off to read it, or whether you are interested; §§ 2 and 12 could serve as an example. Changes in education in the latest, imperialist, epoch are sketched out on the basis of material of recent years, and shed some very interesting light on the question for the democrats in Russia.

You will do me a great favour by helping—directly or indirectly—to publish this booklet. The demand in Russia for literature in this sphere has now probably greatly increased.

Best regards and wishes,

V. Ulyanov

Wl. Ulianow, Seidenweg. 4a. *Berne.*

Written prior to February 8, 1916
Sent from Berne to Petrograd
First published in 1925
in *Lenin Miscellany III*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 36, p. 367

A. M. GORKY TO V. I. LENIN

Dear Vladimir Ilyich,

The question of *Novaya Zhizn*[148] has taken a very acute form. The workers and employees demand a definite reply: is *N[ovaya] Zh[izn]* to be or not to be? The Letts have turned I. P. Ladyzhnikov, Grzhebin and Bazarov out of the editorial office.

Will you please let me know, as soon as you possibly can, whether you are sanctioning the paper or not? Every day costs us 10 thousand.

This note will be handed to you by my son.

Please say—yes or no!

A. Peshkov

Written in the middle of July 1918

First published in P. Bugayenko, *A. V. Lunacharsky i literaturnoye dvizheniye 20-kh godov*, Saratov, 1967

Printed from the original (C.P.A. I.M.L. of the C.C. C.P.S.U.)

A. M. GORKY AND M. F. ANDREYEVA TO V. I. LENIN

A TELEGRAM[149]

Terribly grieved and worried, sincere wishes for speedy recovery, be of good cheer.

M. Gorky,
Maria Andreyeva

Written on August 31, 1918
First published in the newspaper *Izvestia*, No. 189, September 3, 1918

Printed from M. Gorky, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 385

A. M. GORKY TO V. I. LENIN

A TELEGRAM[150]

Lenin, Moscow Petrograd, December 5, 1918

Extremely concerned danger to which treasures of Hermitage, Russian Museum and Academy in Moscow Kremlin are exposed by exhibition plan involving unpacking of cases without proper safety guarantee. Hermitage Board Members meeting at Maxim Gorky's unanimously requests you to prevent holding of exhibition and do everything in your power to have collection returned to Petrograd, which is the only means of saving it.[151] Hermitage Board Members: Troinitsky, Argutinsky-Dolgorukov, Benois, Braz, Waldhauer, Kube, Liephardt, Markov, Weiner, Schmidt, Yaremich. Wholly subscribe to Board's request.

M. Gorky

Published for the first time

Printed from the original (A. M. Gorky archives)

A. M. GORKY TO V. I. LENIN

Dear Vladimir Ilyich,

I earnestly request you to receive Alexander Ivanovich Kuprin and to listen to what he has to say on a literary matter.[152]

Greetings,

A. Peshkov

Written not later than December 25, 1918

Printed from the original (A. M. Gorky archives)

First published in 1955 in M. Gorky, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 386

A. M. GORKY TO V. I. LENIN

Dear Vladimir Ilyich,

Communist workers returning from the front are complaining that their agitation among the very mixed masses of people in the Red Army is not meeting with the success they anticipated.

The complaints of these agitators are extremely serious and important, and I would ask you to devote attention to them. Personally, I imagine that they would meet with much more success if they were sent to work armed with something more than *bare theory*, namely, with *those facts from the field of the creative achievements of the Soviet Government* which make theory vitally convincing.

I have long been insisting on the need to publish an informative magazine[153] which would be responsible for summing up and explaining everything positive that the Soviet Government has achieved in one year in the various fields of social life. My voice remains a voice crying in the wilderness that—alas!—is not uninhabited; yet I stubbornly continue to try to persuade you and everyone that the Communist agitators must be given either an informative magazine or, at least, a survey-pamphlet outlining the work of the Soviet Government during the year; this survey should outline briefly and comprehensively everything achieved in 1918 by the Commissariat for Public Education and other commissariats, the Committee for State Building,[154] and so on.

There are not a few facts of which the Soviet Government can even boast, particularly in Lunacharsky's department.[155] These facts should be known to the agitators, and you would be doing a good service if you would instil into

whoever is in charge of this that work should start immediately to compile the survey suggested.

Finally, if a survey is found to be impracticable, the agitators should be supplied with a brief list of everything achieved during the year by the work of the various commissariats. I hope you understand how necessary this is.

Further: do you not think the time is now ripe to revive *Novaya Zhizn*?[156] If you do, then it would be well for this paper to appear simultaneously with the Menshevik newspaper.[157] It is by no means reasons of a material nature which prompt me to insist on simultaneous publication.

In a day or so I shall finish printing the list of books[158] proposed for publication in the World Literature series. I think it would be well to translate these lists into all the European languages and to send them to Germany, Britain, France, the Scandinavian countries, etc., so that the proletarians of the West, and also the A. Frances, the Wellses and various Scheidemanns clearly see that the Russian proletarians are not barbarians, but understand internationalism far more broadly than they, who are cultured people, do, and that in the most horrible conditions that can possibly be imagined they have been able to do in one year something which these others should long ago have thought of doing.

Best wishes for your good health!

A. Peshkov

Written in January 1919

First published in 1955
in M. Gorky, *Collected Works*

Printed from M. Gorky
Collected Works, Vol. 29,
pp. 387-88

A. M. GORKY TO V. I. LENIN

A TELEGRAM[159]

Vsemirnaya Literatura Publishing House needs paper, of which the Commissariat for Trade and Industry has supplies. I have repeatedly applied to Glavbum and Pravbum.[160] Glavbum categorically refused, Pravbum issued permit, then withdrew it. Situation critical, overheads fantastic, six hundred sheets type-set, further type-setting senseless, we have not even been included in general distribution plan. A business in which so much energy has been put and which promises tremendous results is doomed. Please give your assistance.

Gorky

Written on March 6, 1919

First published in 1958 in *V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gorky*, 1st ed.

Printed from a photocopy (U.S.S.R. State Museum of the Revolution)

V. I. LENIN TO L. B. KRASIN[161]

12.III.1919

Comrade Krasin,

Maria Fyodorovna has handed me the enclosed papers. Grzhebin is not clear. Who is Pravbum? Can a copy of its permit and cancellation be obtained? To whom is Pravbum subordinated? I will have to ask for its report, and incidentally for more precise details as to what books and pamphlets Vsemirnaya Literatura is asking paper for.

Yours,
Lenin

First published on March 27, 1958 in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 50, p. 269 5th Russ. ed.

A. M. GORKY TO V. I. LENIN

Dear Vladimir Ilyich,

A Left S.R.,[162] *Natalia Shklovskaya*, has been arrested here. She is a poetess of 17, a very exalted person, the niece of *Dioneo*. I know her, she was secretary to the *poet A. A. Blok*—her part in Left S.R. adventurism is more than doubtful. She was arrested in the street, with a revolver, but for her the revolver is a toy, she probably does not know how to use it. However, I am afraid that exaltation may be the undoing of this child. She may make up stories out of sheer romanticism and they will kill her. I ask you earnestly to release the young lady, as I am firmly convinced that she cannot be guilty of anything.

She is gifted too.

May I hope that you will grant this request?

In a day or two I shall be sending you a heap of shocking documents about robbery and thieving in nationalised warehouses.

All the best!

A. Peshkov

5.IV.19

This letter will be delivered to you by Comrade Ivan Ananievich Mukhanov.

A.P.

Published for the first time

Printed from the original (C.P.A. I.M.L. of the C.C. C.P.S.U.)

A. M. GORKY TO V. I. LENIN

A TELEGRAM

Urgent. Lenin, Kremlin, Moscow

Ivan Volny, a writer and friend of mine, has been arrested in Maloarkhangelsk, Orel gubernia. I have no doubts as to his political loyalty. I greatly fear hasty action. Please wire impartial investigation of reasons for arrest and release under surveillance.

M. Gorky

Written on April 12, 1919
Published for the first time

Printed from a copy
(A. M. Gorky archives)

V. I. LENIN TO THE OREL GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

A TELEGRAM

April 12, 1919

Gubernia Executive Committee
Orel
Copy to Uyezd Executive Committee
Maloarkhangelsk

Writer Ivan Volny has been arrested. His friend Gorky earnestly requests the greatest caution and impartiality in the investigation. Can he be set free under strict surveillance? Wire.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*,
Vol. 44, pp. 210-11

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

A TELEGRAM

April 14, 1919

Gorky, Smolny, Petrograd

Chuzhinov, Chairman of the Orel Investigating Commission, wires me that Ivan Volny has been temporarily released pending investigation of the case.

Lenin

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*,
Vol. 44, p. 211

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

July 5, 1919

Dear Alexei Maximych,

You seem to stay too long in Petrograd, really. It is not good to stay in one place. It's tiring and boring. Would you care to take a trip? We can arrange it.

Yours,
Lenin

Sent to Petrograd
First published on March 29, 1928, in *Pravda* and *Izvestia* Nos. 75

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 44, p. 260

V. I. LENIN TO NIZHNI-NOVGOROD

A TELEGRAM

8.VII.1919

Nizhni-Novgorod. River.

Wire whereabouts C.E.C. steamer *Krasnaya Zvezda*.[163] Inquire whether it can wait for Gorky at Kazan and give him a cabin. This is my earnest request.

Lenin

Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 51, p. 9, 5th Russ. ed.

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

A TELEGRAM

8.VII.1919

Gorky, Smolny or 23, Kronverksky,
Petrograd

Earnestly request you come tomorrow or Thursday latest. Must talk things over urgently.

Lenin

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 51, p. 9, 5th Russ. ed.

V. I. LENIN'S NOTE TO L. B. KAMENEV

Gorky is arriving 12th or 13th.
Can you issue order to supply him with *firewood*?
Flat 16, No. 1, Mashkov Pereulok.

Written on July 8 or 9, 1919
First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*,
Vol. 51, p. 10, 5th Russ. ed.

From V. I. LENIN'S LETTER TO N. K. KRUPSKAYA

July 9, 1919

Nadya dearest,

I was very glad to hear from you. I sent a telegram to Kazan and, as I got no answer, sent another to Nizhny, and from there I today received a reply to the effect that the *Krasnaya Zvezda* is supposed to arrive in Kazan on July 8 and stay there for not less than 24 hours. In that telegram I asked whether it would be possible to give Gorky a cabin on *Krasnaya Zvezda*. He is arriving here tomorrow and I want very much to drag him out of Petrograd, where he has exhausted his nerves and gone sour. I hope you and the other comrades will be glad to have Gorky travelling with you. He is really a very nice chap, a bit capricious, but that is nothing....

First published in 1931
in V. I. Lenin, *Letters to Relatives*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 37, p. 543

From V. I. LENIN'S TELEGRAM TO N. K. KRUPSKAYA

Ulyanova, Kazan

I saw Gorky today and tried to persuade him to travel on your steamer, about which I sent a telegram to Nizhny, but he flatly refused....

Lenin

Written on July 10, 1919
First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*,
Vol. 37, p. 545

From V. I. LENIN'S LETTER TO N. K. KRUPSKAYA

July 15

I could not persuade Gorky to go, hard as I tried....

Written on July 15, 1919

First published in 1957 in V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 37, 4th Russ. ed.

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 37, p. 546

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

July 18, 1919

Dear A. M.,

Come here for a rest—I often go away for two days to the country, where I can put you up splendidly for either a short or a longer time.

Do come!

Telegraph *when*; we shall arrange a compartment for you, so that you can travel in comfort. Really, you need a little change of air. I await your reply.

Yours,
Lenin

Sent from Moscow to Petrograd

First published in *Pravda* and *Izvestia* No. 75, March 29, 1928

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, p. 409

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

July 31, 1919

Dear Alexei Maximych,

The more I read over your letter, and the more I think of the connection between its conclusions and what it sets forth (and what you described at our meetings), the more I arrive at the conviction that the letter, and your conclusions, and all your impressions, are quite sick.

Petrograd has been one of the sickest places in recent times. This is quite understandable, since its population has suffered most of all, the workers have given up more of their best forces than anyone else, the food shortage is grave, and the military danger too. Obviously your nerves can't stand it. That is not surprising. Yet you won't listen when you are told that you ought to change your abode, because to let oneself flog the nerves to a state of sickness is very unwise, unwise even from the plain common-sense point of view, not to speak of other points of view.

Just as in your conversations, there is in your letter a sum of sick impressions, leading you to sick conclusions.

You begin with dysentery and cholera, and immediately a kind of sick resentment comes over you: "fraternity, equality". Unconscious, but the result is something like communism being responsible for the privations, poverty and diseases of a besieged city!!

Then follow some bitter witticisms, which I don't understand, against "hoarding" literature (which? why connected with Kalinin?). And the conclusion that a "wretched remainder of the intelligent workers" say that they have been "betrayed" into "captivity to the muzhik".

That, now, has no sense in it at all. Is it Kalinin who is being accused of betraying the workers to the muzhik? That is what it amounts to.

This might be invented by workers who are either quite green, stupid, with a "Left" phrase instead of a brain, or else by those who are overwrought, exhausted, hungry, sick, or else by the "remainder of the aristocracy" who have a splendid ability to distort everything, a splendid gift for picking on every trifle to vent their frenzied hatred of Soviet power. You yourself mention this remainder at the same point in your letter. Their state of mind is having an unhealthy influence on you.

You write that you see "people of the most varied sections of society". It's one thing to see them, another thing to feel daily contact with them, in all aspects of one's life. What you mainly experience is from the "remainder"—if only by virtue of your profession, which obliges you to "receive" dozens of embittered bourgeois intellectuals, and also by virtue of your general circumstances.

As though the "remainder" cherish "something bordering on sympathy for Soviet power", while "the majority of the workers" produce thieves, "communists" who have jumped on the band-waggon, etc.! And you talk yourself into the "conclusion" that a revolution cannot be made with the help of thieves, cannot be made without the intelligentsia.

This is a completely sick psychology, acutely aggravated in the environment of embittered bourgeois intellectuals.

Everything is being done to draw the intelligentsia (the non-whiteguard intelligentsia) into the struggle against the thieves. And *month by month* the Soviet Republic acquires a *growing* percentage of bourgeois intellectuals who are *sincerely* helping the workers and peasants, not merely grumbling and spitting fury. This cannot be "seen" in Petrograd, because Petrograd is a city with an exceptionally large number of bourgeois people (and "intelligentsia") who have lost their place in life (and their heads), but for all Russia this is an unquestionable fact.

In Petrograd, or from Petrograd, one can only become convinced of this if one is exceptionally well informed *politically* and has a specially wide political experience. This you haven't got. And you are engaged, not in politics and not in observing the *work* of political construction, but in a particular profession, which surrounds you with embittered bourgeois intellectuals, who have understood nothing, forgotten nothing, learned nothing and *at best*—a very rare best—have lost their bearings, are in despair, moaning,

repeating old prejudices, have been frightened to death or are frightening themselves to death.

If you want to *observe*, you must observe from below, where it is possible to *survey* the work of building a new life, in a workers' settlement in the provinces or in the countryside. There one does not have to make a political summing-up of extremely complex data, there one need only observe. Instead of this, you have put yourself in the position of a professional editor of translations, etc., a position in which it is impossible to observe the new building of a new life, a position in which all your strength is frittered away on the sick grumbling of a sick intelligentsia, on observing the "former" capital in conditions of desperate military peril and fierce privations.

You have put yourself in a position in which you *cannot* directly observe the new features in the life of the workers and peasants, i.e., nine-tenths of the population of Russia; in which you are compelled to observe the fragments of life of a former capital, from where the flower of the workers has gone to the fronts and to the countryside, and where there remain a disproportionately large number of intellectuals without a place in life and without jobs, who *specially* "*besiege*" you. Counsels to go away you stubbornly reject.

Quite understandably, you have reduced yourself to a condition of sickness: you write that you find life not only hard, but also "extremely revolting"!!! I should say so! At such a time to chain oneself to the sickest of places as an editor of translated literature (the most suitable occupation for observing people, for an artist!). As an artist, you *cannot* see and study anything there that is new—in the army, in the countryside, in the factory. You have deprived yourself of any opportunity of doing what would satisfy the artist: in Petrograd a politician can work, but you are not a politician. Today it's windows being broken for no reason at all, tomorrow it's shots and screams from prison, then snatches of oratory by the most weary of the non-workers who have remained in Petrograd, then millions of impressions from the intelligentsia, the intelligentsia of a capital which is no longer a capital, then hundreds of complaints from those who have been wronged, *inability* to see any building of the new life in the time you have left after editing (the building goes on in a particular way, and least of all in Petrograd)—how

could you fail to reduce yourself to a point when it is extremely revolting to go on living?

The country is living in a feverish struggle against the bourgeoisie of the whole world, which is taking a frenzied revenge for its overthrow. Naturally. For the first Soviet Republic, the first blows *from everywhere*. Naturally. Here one must live either as an active politician or (if one's heart does not draw one to politics), as an artist, observe how people are building life anew somewhere that is not, as the capital is, the centre of furious attack, of a furious struggle against conspiracies, of the furious anger of the capital's intelligentsia — somewhere in the countryside, or in a provincial factory (or at the front). There it is easy, merely by observing, to distinguish the decomposition of the old from the first shoots of the new.

Life has become revolting, the "divergence" from communism "is deepening". Where the divergence lies, it is impossible to tell. Not a shadow of an indication of a divergence in politics or in ideas. There is a divergence of *mood*—between people who are engaged in politics or are absorbed in a struggle of the most furious kind, and the mood of a man who has artificially driven himself into a situation where he can't observe the new life, while his impressions of the decay of a vast bourgeois capital are getting the better of him.

I have expressed my thoughts to you frankly on the subject of your letter. From my conversations (with you) I have long been approaching the same ideas, but your letter gave shape and conclusion, it rounded off the sum total of the impressions I have gained from these conversations. I don't want to thrust my advice on you, but I cannot help saying: change your circumstances radically, your environment, your abode, your occupation—otherwise life may disgust you for good.

All the best.

Yours,

Lenin

Sent to Petrograd

First published in 1925
in *Krasnaya Letopis* No. 1 (12)

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, pp. 410-14

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

September 15

Dear Alexei Maximych,

I received Tonkov, and even before that and before receiving your letter we had decided in the Central Committee to appoint Kamenev and Bukharin to check on the arrests of bourgeois intellectuals of the near-Cadet type and to release whoever possible. For it is clear to us that there have been mistakes here, too.

It is also clear that in general the measure of arrest applied to Cadet (and near-Cadet) people has been necessary and correct.

Reading your frank opinion on this matter, I recall a remark of yours, which sank into my mind during our talks (in London, on Capri, and afterwards):

"We artists are irresponsible people."

Exactly! You utter incredibly angry words about what? About a few dozen (or perhaps even a few hundred) Cadet and near-Cadet gentry spending a few days in jail *in order to prevent plots like that of the surrender of Krasnaya Gorka*,[164] plots which threaten the lives of *tens* of thousands of workers and peasants.

A calamity, indeed! What injustice! A few days, or even weeks, in jail for intellectuals in order to prevent the massacre of tens of thousands of workers and peasants!

"Artists are irresponsible people."

It is wrong to confuse the "intellectual forces" of the people with the "forces" of bourgeois intellectuals. As a sample of the latter I take Korolenko: I recently read the pamphlet *War, the Fatherland and Mankind*, which he wrote in August 1917. Mind you, Korolenko is the best of the "near-Cadets", almost a Menshevik. But what a disgusting, base, vile defence of imperialist war, concealed behind honeyed

phrases! A wretched philistine in thrall to bourgeois prejudices! For such gentlemen 10,000,000 killed in an imperialist war is a deed worthy of support (by *deeds*, accompanied by honeyed phrases "against" war), but the death of hundreds of thousands in a *just* civil war against the landowners and capitalists evokes ahs and ohs, sighs, and hysterics.

No. There is no harm in such "talents" being made to spend some weeks or so in prison, if this *has* to be done to *prevent* plots (like Krasnaya Gorka) and the death of tens of thousands. But we exposed these plots of the Cadets and "near-Cadets". And we *know* that the near-Cadet professors quite often *help* the plotters. That's a fact.

The intellectual forces of the workers and peasants are growing and gaining strength in the struggle to overthrow the bourgeoisie and its henchmen, the intellectual lackeys of capital, who imagine they are the brains of the nation. Actually, they are not the brains, but sh—.

To the "intellectual forces" who want to bring science to the people (and not to act as servants of capital), we pay a salary *above the average*. That is a fact. We take care of them. That is a fact. Tens of thousands of officers are serving in our Red Army and are winning victory, despite the hundreds of traitors. That is a fact.

As for your moods, I can "understand" them all right (since you raise the question whether I shall be able to understand you). Often, both on Capri and afterwards, I told you: You allow yourself to be surrounded by the worst elements of the bourgeois intelligentsia and succumb to their whining. You hear and listen to the howl of hundreds of intellectuals over the "terrible" arrest for a few weeks, but the voice of the masses, the millions, the workers and peasants, whom Denikin, Kolchak, Lianozov, Rodzyanko, the Krasnaya Gorka (and other *Cadet*) plotters are threatening—this voice you do not hear and do not listen to. I quite understand, I quite fully understand, that in this way one can write oneself not only into saying that "the Reds are just as much enemies of the people as the Whites" (the fighters for the overthrow of the capitalists and landowners are just as much enemies of the people as the landowners and capitalists), but also into a belief in the merciful god or our Father the Tsar. I fully understand.

×

No really, you will go under unless you tear yourself out of this environment of bourgeois intellectuals! With all my heart I wish that you do this quickly.

Best regards,

Yours,

Lenin

× For you are not writing anything! And for an artist to waste himself on the whining of rotting intellectuals and not to write—is this not ruin, is it not shameful?

Written on September 15, 1919

Sent to Petrograd

First published in 1965
in V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*,
Vol. 51, 5th Russ. ed.

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*
Vol. 44, pp. 283-85

V. I. LENIN TO M. F. ANDREYEVA

18/IX

Dear M. F., I beg your pardon for the delay: I am answering both letters at once. Regarding the first, I trust you have already spoken to Lunacharsky in Petrograd. My *dacha* trips prevented me from seeing him and I had no chance to speak to him. I shall do so as soon as I can.

As regards the second (the arrests) I am writing to A.M.*

Steps have been taken for their release. (To prevent plots we cannot help arresting the *whole* Cadet and near-Cadet crowd. They all are capable of aiding the plotters. It would be criminal not to arrest them. It were better for some tens or hundreds of intellectuals to sit for some days or weeks in detention than to have *10,000* killed. Much better, believe me.)

Best regards,

Yours,

Lenin

Written September 18, 1919

Sent to Petrograd

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 51, pp. 51-52, 5th Russ. ed.

* See the previous letter.—*Ed.*

A. M. GORKY, A. BENOIS AND K. PETROV-VODKIN TO V. I. LENIN

A TELEGRAM WITH LENIN'S ENDORSEMENT

To D[efence] C[ouncil]
for the Agenda

Petrograd 17th November, 191

Call-up of Art Academy students completely kills the Academy and art education. Please repeal call-up order.

M. Gorky
Alexander Benois
Petrov-Vodkin

Published for the first time

Printed from the original (C.P.A. I.M.L. of the C.C. C.P.S.U.)

Lenin's inscription on his book
"*Left-Wing*" *Communism – an Infantile Disorder*,
June 18, 1920

A. M. GORKY TO V. I. LENIN[165]

WITH V. I. LENIN'S ENDORSEMENT

To Vorovsky
for urgent report
Lenin

I apologise, dear Vladimir Ilyich, for being compelled to trouble you with a complaint and a request—in this anarchic city there is no one to turn to.

About a year ago, by a telegram of the Supreme Economic Council signed by Rykov and Krasin I was appointed commissar of the Kopeika printing-house, which was placed completely at the service of Vsemirnaya Literatura. For the purpose of technical control and accounting the former commissar appointed by the Printing Industry Section of the local Economic Council was left together with me.

It cost Vsemir. Liter. a tremendous effort to maintain the printing press's productivity in the course of a difficult year and to safeguard it from the state of chaos which most of the large nationalised printing-houses are now in.

In a desire to raise productivity in these printing-houses the local Printing Industry Section has hit on no better plan than to withdraw Kopeika's work staff through its commissar and transfer them to Soviet printing-houses.

In this manner 10 workers of the machine shop were taken from me on January 27th, and on the 28th a similar number of compositors and stitchers were demanded of me. These withdrawals were made despite my protests as commissar.

These actions by the Printing Industry Section are completely ruining the work of Kopeika and preventing Vsemirnaya Literatura from printing its books. In addition to Vsemirnaya Literatura, Kopeika, with my consent, is printing things for Baltic Fleet and the Murmansk Railway and fulfilling orders for Smolny. Needless to say, the printing-house is accepting no private orders.

Thus, in destroying the work of Kopeika, the P. I. Section is causing damage to Soviet power.

I request you:

1. To protect Kopeika against any further encroachments on the part of the P. I. Section.

2. To take steps to have Kopeika's withdrawn workers returned to it.

3. To confirm with sufficient authority my rights as commissar and make it known that the printing-house is at the exclusive disposal of Vsem. Liter. and needs no other commissar besides myself.

I am sure that this is the only way the further work of Vsemirnaya Literatura can be assured and the only large printing-house that is functioning properly in Petrograd can be saved from destruction. Please give my request your immediate attention and send your reply by telegraph, since destruction of the printing-house has already been started and is being conducted most energetically.

M. Gorky

Written on January 29 or 30, 1920
Sent from Petrograd to Moscow

First published in part in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Published in full in 1958 in *V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gorky*, 1st ed.

Printed from a typewritten copy (C.P.A. I.M.L. of the C.C. C.P.S.U.)

A. M. GORKY TO V. I. LENIN

WITH V. I. LENIN'S MARKS

Dear Vladimir Ilyich,

Will you please receive *Farbman*,[166] a very influential contributor to British and American newspapers. He has recently returned from America, visited Germany and is now going there again. He will be in London, where he could be of great assistance to Leonid as a man with considerable influence in the press. If you have a talk with him you will be persuaded that he sincerely sympathises with Soviet power and that excellent use could be made of him. Speaks Russian freely.

Now, what about the scientists?

Should 1,800 rations be left them? || **Had them for 2 months**

I earnestly request that they be left—it is absolutely essential, of tremendous importance.

Another request of mine: please phone Felix Dzerzhinsky and tell him to have the *chemist Sapozhnikov* released as quickly as possible. The latter has discovered a way of producing from gas tar—used for greasing tramlines at bends and switches—a homoemulsion, which is as strong an antiseptic as carbolic. Up to 50 vedros of 1% solution can be obtained from a pood of tar. This product is badly needed, because shit is carted out of the yards here to Nevsky, and from Nevsky loaded onto tram flatcars and taken out of town.

That's a good thing, but the trouble is that the snow is thawing and the wood-pavement in the roadway absorbs all kinds of muck. You

understand? Sapozhnikov's product could be used to flush whole streets. Its production is simple.

Another point: Manukhin should be given facilities for research for a serum against typhus, but here you can't get anything done. We are a political city, which is blind and completely lacking initiative in all other spheres.

I wired Semashko—he doesn't answer.

Excuse me for bothering you, but these affairs are extremely important, as you realise yourself.

All the best,
A. Peshkov

5.III.20

Sent from Petrograd to Moscow

First published in part in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Published in full in *V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gorky*, 1st ed.

Printed from the original (C.P.A. I.M.L. of the C.C. C.P.S.U.)

A. M. GORKY TO V. I. LENIN

Vladimir Ilyich,

Chemistry professor Sapozhnikov has discovered that a homoemulsion possessing antiseptic properties equal in strength to carbolic can be produced from gas tar—a waste product of gas works available in abundance. A pood of tar yields 50 vedros of 2% solution, which means we can have a very powerful disinfectant in large quantities. The technique of production is simple.

Sapozhnikov has been in jail for some months,[167] sentenced to imprisonment until the end of the Civil War because of arms found in his flat belonging to his two sons, Whiteguards, who have long ago been shot.

I spoke with Dzerzhinsky about this when I was in Moscow, and he told me that he had no objection to Sapozhnikov being released and that I was to speak to Bakayev about it. I showed Bakayev the Technological Institute's certificate concerning Sapozhnikov's discovery and obtained from Bakayev a promise that Sap[ozhnikov] would be released and given an opportunity to work.

Nine weeks have passed since then. I have repeatedly reminded Bakayev about this case. Ravich has been promised that Sapozhnikov would be released, but he is still in prison.

Will you please tell Dzerzhinsky to ring Bakayev and order him to release Sapozhnikov with the Scientists' Welfare Commission acting as guarantor, and I shall see to it that he is given a chance to carry on his work.

That we need a vast amount of disinfectants goes without saying.

I have received a letter from Herbert Wells.[168] He writes:

"Russia has followed paths of her own and there has been a violent outcry against her and much propaganda of a vio-

lent sort, but feeling in this country is rather curious than hostile. We don't understand, we are perplexed, but there is a great faith here that at bottom the Russians are a great and gifted people playing and destined to play a leading part in the creation of a new world."

I am going to answer him. He is writing *A History of Culture*[169] for teaching in schools, has sent five parts, a very interesting work in which he is being helped by such scholars as Johnston and Lankester.

Forty-five tons of medical supplies from England have been received. Staden Gerst[170] visited me and I have arranged with her for further parcels, mentioning the need for supplying us with condensed milk, cod-liver oil and pemmican.[171]

Written prior to March 19, 1920
Published for the first time

Printed from a rough copy of an autograph
(A. M. Gorky archives)

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

A TELEGRAM

Gorky, Petrograd

In reply to your letter of 5/III, I quote the text of the telegram which the People's Commissariat for Food sent to Badayev[172]: "Pending final settlement by a special commission of the Council of People's Commissars of the question of improving the position of scientists, you are instructed to continue supplies according to the plan previously adopted by you, i.e., without making a reduction in keeping with recent orders of the People's Commissariat for Food." Pokrovsky's commission is appealing against the Petrograd list as being unfair. Sapozhnikov was released on 9/III. Manukhin has to present to Semashko, People's Commissar for Health, a description of the method of the proposed research, on the results of the examination of which the decision depends.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on March 19, 1920
First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 44, p. 359

A. M. GORKY TO V. I. LENIN

WITH V. I. LENIN'S MARKS

Dear Vladimir Ilyich,

I am enclosing a copy of the application which Manukhin has sent to N. A. Semashko and earnestly request you to do everything possible to have Manukhin granted permission for his foreign trip[173]. [And, naturally, funds for the journey and for work at the Pasteur Institute.

I am not altogether an ignoramus as regards an understanding of the theory of internal secretion, and I have been carefully following both the trend of Manukhin's theoretical thought and his practical experiments. I am quite sure that Manukhin's conjecture is correct and that the work of the heart can be regulated, can be restored even when it has been badly overworked. It raises the problem of longevity—and I don't have to tell you how important that is! It excites the most fantastic hopes, but I wouldn't laugh them away—modern science already has the power of realising the wildest fantasies, as you know.

A typical armchair scientist, Manukhin is as unpractical as a child and just as straightforward, and with a knack of making enemies with remarkable ease. His research work here is rendered difficult in the extreme; owing to purely local hindrances he cannot produce his serum against the Spanish 'flu until April, although it was to have been ready at the beginning of February. And, naturally, it is particularly difficult to do clinical work without having drugs or apparatus needed for observing the work of the heart, while enjoying inimical attention on the part of various "saboteurs" plus perfunctory attention

to the "scientist" on the part of Soviet bourgeois.

I earnestly request that Manukhin be given permission to travel. His is a tremendous job!]

I am enclosing a copy of the Hermitage Board's statement concerning the need for re-evacuating its treasures from Moscow to Petrograd, and likewise beg your assistance as a member of the Board.[174]

To Lunacharsky

×

Furthermore, I draw your attention to the need for taking strong measures to combat juvenile delinquency. Having studied this situation I now realise with what terrible rapidity the canker of crime is spreading. In Petrograd there are over 6,000 juvenile delinquents aged 9 to 15, all of them recidivists and with no few murderers amongst them. There are 12-year-olds who have as many as three murders to their name. Isolation does not achieve its object. Other measures are required, and I suggest organising a League For Combating Juvenile Delinquency, to which I shall invite all the most competent authorities on problems of educating backward children and on the question of combating crime among children.[175]

We must make haste with this.

To Lunacharsky for report

× ×

Forgive me for bothering you with "trifles". You make very good speeches about the need for labour. It would be a good thing if you would mention in one of your speeches such things as this: ever since Yudenich's offensive tens of thousands of sandbags dumped to form machine-gun nests and emplacements have been lying about the streets of Petrograd. The sacks are rotting

For Tsentroutil*

* Utility Refuse Agency.—*Tr.*

and spoilt, at a time when the paper mills are in need of rags.

On the sites of demolished wooden houses many a million poods of iron are lying about rusting.

In pulling down houses the window panes and doors are not taken out, but smashed—a window pane today costs 1,000, 1,200 rbls.—thus, millions of rubles are being thrown away.

It is not a question of money, of course, but of teaching people to take proper care of their well-being! The work of collecting sacks, rags, glass and iron could be performed by prisoners in jail.

I broach these subjects everywhere, but it is necessary that you should say your word. Really, these are not "trifles", when all is said and done!

I wish you all the best. Keep well!

A. Peshkov

2.IV.20

Sent from Petrograd to Moscow

First published in part in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*,

Pubished in full in *V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gorky*, 1st ed.

Printed from the original (C.P.A. I.M.L. of the C.C. C.P.S.U.)

A. M. GORKY TO V. I. LENIN

Petrograd

April 3, 1920

Dear Vladimir Ilyich,

I cannot avoid worrying you again, for it is not possible to get results in any other way.

As I have already told you, Grzhebin and I have arranged for an edition of selected works by the best of the nineteenth-century Russian writers. There is no time to read 10 volumes of Turgenev, 20 of Herzen or 15 of Chekhov, but it is possible to know an author well after reading two or three volumes of his best works.[176]

We have already done a great deal, and in a day or so will send the books to the printers.

We have asked Vorovsky to allow us to make use of the State Publishing House texts, and as you see from the enclosed paper he not only allowed us to do this, but made it incumbent upon us to do so.

Quite naturally it is stupid to do the work on checking the texts in two places and twice over. Grzhebin and I, after all, are not going into competition with the State Publishing House.

But Comrade Ionov holds a different opinion and now, after going to Moscow, he has contrived to have Vorovsky's decision rescinded.

Vladimir Ilyich! Work is impossible in such conditions!

I beg you to telephone to Vorovsky and point out to him that the text of the abridged editions of the Russian classics simply must coincide with that of the complete editions published by the State Publishing House.

You, of course, understand the necessity for this.

Greetings,

M. Gorky

First published in the journal *Kommunist* No. 15, 1954

Printed from M. Gorky, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, pp. 391-92

A. M. GORKY TO THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS[177]

WITH V. I. LENIN'S ENDORSEMENT

April 29, 1920
Submit to Lunacharsky and Komprod for report
Lenin

To the Council of People's Commissars

Up till now the Scientists' Welfare Commission has disposed of 1,800 rations, which have been distributed among scientists, but as this number of rations falls far short of requirements and a large number of highly skilled scientists are left without rations, the Commission earnestly requests the Council of People s Commissars to increase the number of rations to 2,000.

Chairman of the Commission[178]
M. Gorky

Written in April, not later than 29th, 1920

Printed from *Lenin Miscellany*

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellcny XXXV*, p. 112

A. M. GORKY TO V. I. LENIN

Dear Vladimir Ilyich,

I earnestly request you to receive and hear out A. Apatov, member of the Presidium of the Scientists' Welfare Commission.

At the same time I am sending you a letter from Professor Fyodorov, the famous surgeon. He was arrested because his brother—with whom he is at odds, by the way—attempted to escape to Estonia.

I wish you all the best!

What about N[adezhda] K[onstantinovna]—is she coming to Petrograd?

A. Peshkov

Written not earlier than 2nd and not later than 14th May, 1920

Printed from the original (C.P.A. I.M.L. of the C.C. C.P.S.U.)

Published for the first time

A. M. GORKY TO V. I. LENIN

Lenin, Kremlin, Moscow

Petrograd, May 22, 1920

I crave mitigation for Preobrazhensky, a leading geologist whom the country needs.

Gorky

Published for the first time

Printed from a photocopy (A. M. Gorky archives)

From A. M. GORKY'S LETTER TO V. I. LENIN

June 26, 1920

Dear Vladimir Ilyich,

Among manuscripts I am sending abroad[179] there are autobiographies of Chernov and Martov.

All the manuscripts and books will be examined by the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, who, after examination, will send them by courier to Gukovsky, Estonia.

The Martov and Chernov manuscripts may possibly be detained.

I am sending you—in that event—my reviews on Chernov and Martov and would ask you to give Karakhan your opinion on this matter.

Martov's book is definitely good, and V. Chernov's work, though showing him to be a dreadful windbag and boaster, abounds in very valuable facts and gives a sufficiently clear idea of the life of the period.

All the best.

A. Peshkov

26.VI.20

V. Chernov's manuscript.

It is an autobiography. Chernov describes his life, beginning from the school desk down to—in this part of the manuscript—the 90s, to the organisation by Mark Natanson of the Narodnoye Pravo Party.[180] Despite the unpleasantly boastful tone in which he speaks of himself and over-emphasis of his own gifts—scholarly erudition, political sagacity and what not—Chernov, in this manuscript, gives a good deal of interesting information about the growth of revolutionary thought in the 80s, about life of the few remaining Narodnaya Volya members, the life of the youth of that period, the methods of propaganda in the villages—of spe-

cial interest are the pages devoted to the disputes of the Narodniks with the representatives of the then nascent Marxism, which disputes—despite a certain dialectical dexterity on the part of the author—convincingly reveal the political bankruptcy and inner flabbiness of Narodism. The author's encounters and talks with such men as M. Natanson, N. K. Mikhailovsky and others are interesting.

On the whole, Chernov's book is valuable factual material for studying the history of the growth of revolutionary thought in the period of the 80s-90s and very useful for present-day youth, who know nothing whatever about the past.

Martov's manuscript.

Excellent, valuable, a concise and honestly written autobiography. Starts from childhood down to the first trip abroad. Gives copious information on the history of the development of Marxism and building of the party. For young party people this book can give a good deal both as regards knowledge and attitude of mind.

Sent from Petrograd to Moscow

First published in 1958 in *V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gorky*, 1st ed.

Printed from the original (C.P.A. I.M.L. of the C.C. C.P.S.U.)

A. M. GORKY TO V. I. LENIN

Petrograd, July 17, 1920

Dear Vladimir Ilyich,

I am enclosing two statements[181] and would ask you to put them before the Narrow Council of People's Commissars. I am doing this at your suggestion.

My position is an idiotic one; at somebody's whim, or through some misunderstanding a business like Vsemirnaya Literatura, which has been set going splendidly, is now being ruined, a business on whose pattern the French are already beginning to set up a similar one in Paris. The Manager of Supplies Tikhonov and technician Kogan have already left for Leipzig for negotiations with Volkmar about having Russian books printed abroad, which is in accordance with the ruling of the C.P.C. In Revel £50 thousand are lying unused with Gukovsky, sanctioned by the C.P.C. for the needs of the State Publishing House, which has *nothing* to print abroad.

And Vsemirnaya Literatura, for some vague reasons—obviously formal ones—is refused 10 million Duma notes—just spoiled paper—which in three months' time could produce several million good books.

The publication of natural science books—Grzhebin Publishing House—is being held up too, for reasons of obvious misunderstanding. The agreement with the State Publishing House gives Grzhebin the right to receive its next instalment of 10 million Soviet notes. The agreement has not been cancelled. Grzhebin, in accordance with a decision of the C.P.C., has gone abroad to make the technical arrangements. Here, in Petrograd, money is urgently needed to pay collaborators—the best men of Russian science. Unless they are paid they will chuck it up, quite naturally.

Comrade Avanesov, with whom—on your suggestion—I have spoken about this business sees no obstacles on the part of the W[orkers'] and P[easants'] Control to the issue of this money.

Then, what is the matter?

I earnestly request you, Vladimir Ilyich, to revise both C.P.C. decisions, and *on the first*: either issue the 10 million Duma notes by transferring them to Gukovsky in Revel, or allow Comrade Gukovsky to pay out the equivalent of 10 million Duma notes out of the £50 thousand sent to him for the needs of the State Publishing House. This sum to be issued to the Vsemirnaya Literatura agent Alexander Tikhonov in Revel.

On the second:

To transfer urgently to Petrograd in the name of M. Gorky 10 million in Soviet notes for paying the collaborators [and] editors of the Grzhebin publishers.

I beg this of you most earnestly! Don't allow trifles to destroy two jobs, which in three or four months' time Soviet power will be proud to boast of. And you must realise at long last that the country has already become book-starved. Illiteracy is being liquidated, yet there are no books! You can't very well feed political-agitational literature to a person who has only just learned the alphabet.

Keep well, and all the best,

A. Peshkov

First published in the journal *Istorichesky Arkhiv*, 1958, No. 2

Printed from a photocopy (A. M. Gorky archives)

A. M. GORKY TO THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS

WITH V. I. LENIN'S ENDORSEMENT

I ask the Narrow
Council to consider this business quickly
and grant the request
if possible

Lenin

18/VIII

August 17, 1920

To the Council of People's Commissars

By a decision of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet a Control Commission was set up to check the list of persons who were receiving a scientist's ration in Petrograd, consisting of Comrade Mitrofanov, from the Executive Committee, Comrade Kristi, from the Education Department, Comrade Avdeyev, from the Trade Unions, and Comrade Kuvshinov, from the Petrograd Commune.

The Control Commission endorsed a list of 1,849 persons, and of those excluded 13 persons were left over for August and 77 were classified as lecturers and instructors. The representative of the People's Commissariat for Education disagreed with two other members of the Control Commission on the question of the 77 excluded lecturers and recorded a dissenting opinion.

Before conclusion of the Control Commission's work its member Avdeyev stated that it had been decided to deprive lecturers of the right to a scientist's ration, and to withdraw the vacancies to a scientist's ration, with the exception of 151 persons, from the Commission's jurisdiction and hand them over to industrial specialists. At the meeting at which this question was decided the representative of the Education Department was absent, and Comrade Avdeyev was not empowered by the Control Commission to submit that question.

Taking into consideration, first, this last circumstance, second, that to deprive lecturers, instructors and laboratory assistants of the ration is palpably unjust, since, being defi-

nitely scientific skilled specialists themselves, they are indispensable scientific associates without whom the work of scientists and scientific institutions, professors and scientists themselves is inconceivable; third, that by decision of the Central Commission of the C.P.C. and the People's Commissariat for Education the Petrograd Scientists' Welfare Commission was granted 2,000 rations for distribution among scientific specialists; fourth, that the functions of the Control Commission should have been limited to checking the lists—the Petrograd Commission categorically protests against the decision of the Control Commission and asks the Council of People's Commissars not to reduce the number of rations and to give lecturers the right to receive a scientist's ration.

Chairman of the Commission
M. Gorky

Lenin's endorsement was published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV* Gorky's Memorandum—in 1958 in *V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gorky*, 1st ed.

Printed from the original (C.P.A. I.M.L. of the C.C. C.P.S.U.)

From A. M. GORKY'S LETTER TO V. I. LENIN

Vladimir Ilyich,

Leonid Vorobyov, Manager of the Handicrafts Department of the Supreme Economic Council, a Communist, a man with a good revolutionary record, has been arrested. Among the old Party members who know him are Stassova, Ignatiev and Krasin, he is a friend of Trilisser's, Chort-Bogomolov's, Julius Grozhan's, etc.

I have known Vorobyov since 1905 from Helsingfors, I know that he is a good worker, an intelligent, smart fellow....

Will you please give this matter your attention.

All the best,

A. Peshkov

24.IX.20

Published for the first time

Printed from the original (C.P.A. I.M.L. of the C.C. C.P.S.U.)

A. M. GORKY TO V. I. LENIN[182]

Dear Vladimir Ilyich,

Will you kindly give orders to have firewood delivered to Yekaterina Pavlovna and Maxim—they haven't a stick for the winter.

All the best.

A. Peshkov

27.IX.20

Published for the first time

Printed from the original (A. M. Gorky archives)

A. M. GORKY'S MEMO TO V. I. LENIN[183]

WITH V. I. LENIN'S MARKS

1)* *Zaks has ordered of Remezov* in Switzerland two books:
Fabre. *Zhizn nasekomykh* (*Souvenirs entomologiques*).
Klein. *Chudesa zemnogo shara* (*Die Wunder des Erdballs*).
Twenty thousand copies of each.
Total sum of contract 162 thousand Swiss francs.
If Remezov prints over 20 thousand he pays the State Publishing House *1 franc* per copy (?).
2) *of Brodsky*[184] in Stockholm:
Biographies of musicians and painters and an ABC book.
Quantities? Contract amounts to 1,200,000 gold rubles.

Written in October, not later than 21st, 1920
First published in part in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original (C.P.A. I.M.L. of the C.C. C.P.S.U.)

* The figures 1) and 2) are in Lenin's hand.—*Ed.*

FROM V. I. LENIN'S NOTE TO GOSIZDAT

To Gos. izd.[185]

1) First—tinkering. Klein is a good book, should have more.

2) Second (Brodsky). A quite unnecessary and untimely undertaking.

21.X.1920

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*, p. 160

Printed from the original (C.P.A. I.M.L. of the C.C. C.P.S.U.)

A. M. GORKY TO THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS[187]

WITH V. I. LENIN'S MARKS

For the C.P.C. on Tuesday

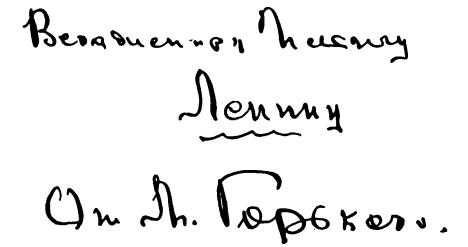
In February 1919 on the proposal of People's Commissar Krasin an Expertise Commission was organised in Petrograd by A. Peshkov whose object was: to pick out and assess articles of artistic value in 33 nationalised warehouses of Petrograd, in ownerless flats, in pawnshops and antique shops. These articles were selected for the purpose of creating an antique export fund in the Soviet Republic.

Only 8 of the 33 warehouses have been gone through

Up to October 1, 1920, the Expertise Commission, consisting of 80 members under the chairmanship of A. Peshkov, formed two stores of selected articles amounting to 120,000 miscellaneous objects, such as: antique furniture, paintings of different periods, countries and schools, Russian, Sèvres, Saxe and other chinaware, bronzes, glassware, ceramics, ancient weapons, Oriental art objects, and so on.

The value of these articles at 1915 prices exceeds a thousand million. In addition the Commission's stores contain carpets to the value of several hundred million (also at 1915 prices) selected from ownerless flats.

The Commission now has exact information that the value of the simplest antiques on the markets of Western Europe is 5 to 6 times more than it was before the war, while that of more valuable objects of art, judging by the catalogues of Paris auctions, is so high as to defy any definite estimate.



Envelope of Gorky's letter to Lenin
of October 10, 1920

The Commission proposes that the Deputy Chairman of the Commission, Mikhail Savostin, a well-known antiquarian, and Commission member Ivan Rakitsky be sent to the markets of Europe—to Paris, London, Florence, and Rome, in order to

1) establish contacts with the big antique dealers in the West;

2) ascertain the exact prices on antiques;

3) arrange auctions for those objects of art which the Republic will find necessary to export.

The above-mentioned persons should be sent urgently, since the busiest trade in antiques begins in November-December.

A. M. Gorky

Written in October, not later than 21st, 1920

Sent from Petrograd to Moscow

First published in part in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV.* pp. 365-66

Printed from a typewritten copy (C.P.A. I.M.L. of the C.C. C.P.S.U.)

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. LEZHAVA AND M. N. POKROVSKY

To Comrades Lezhava and M. N. Pokrovsky

I insist that this matter be speeded up *to the utmost* and a draft decision be submitted to the C.P.C. on *Tuesday* (26.X):

1) to decide on the sale of these articles abroad as quickly as possible;

2) to require from the People's Commissariat for Education an official reply *before Tuesday*, 26/X, as to whether they have any objection (it is said they have *already* picked out articles for our museums: I agree to let them have only the *strictly* necessary minimum);

3) to send abroad at once a special commission of experts + traders, promising them a *good* bonus for a speedy and profitable sale;

4) as I find the work excessively slow (8 *out of* 33), I consider it absolutely necessary to *increase* the personnel of the *commission of experts* (Gorky suggests *up to 200* persons) and to give them *rations* on condition that the work is completed quickly.

Lenin

21/X.

Written on October 21, 1920
First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 44, pp. 451-52

A. M. GORKY TO THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS [187]

WITH V. I. LENIN'S ENDORSEMENT

To the C.P.C.

To Narrow CPC [188]

Please go into this matter *as quickly as possible.* It is evident from the enclosed that the instruction of the Food Commissariat (of the Centre) puts these products at the disposal of the *S.W.C. (Scientists' Welfare Commission).* That means that *without the consent of the Centre* Petrograd has no right to requisition or count against ration.

Lenin

21/X

In view of the fact that the foodstuffs issued by the Gubernia Food Commissions with the permission of the People's Commissariat for Food for the Petrograd Scientists' Welfare Commission are going to be requisitioned, as has been proposed by the Petrograd Commune, the Chairman of the Petrograd S.W.C. asks the C.P.C. to *rule*:

That all products issued by the Gubernia Food Commissions with the permission of the Food Commissariat for the Petrograd S.W.C. shall not be subject to requisition by Petrocommune or to be counted against the ration norm for Petrograd scientists endorsed by the C.P.C.

Grounds for this request:

Out of the Petrograd Commune ration the scientist has to set aside 6 per cent for the employees of the House of Scientists and often for the staffs of such bodies as laboratories, libraries, etc. If he does not help out his close assistants with food they will seek jobs that offer better rations. And then the scientist shares his rations with his family.

The House of Scientists, therefore, is obliged to procure extra food to support its clients, among whom there are no few old and sick people who stand in need of a high-caloric diet.

M. Gorky

Written in October, not later than 21st, 1920

Pirst published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from *Lenin Miscellany*,

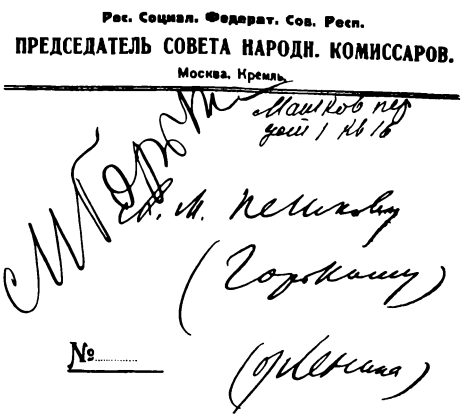
Lenin's endorsement—from V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 5th Russ. ed., Vol. 51, p. 314

A. M. GORKY TO THE ALL-RUSSIA SCIENTISTS' WELFARE COMMISSION[189]

The Petrograd Scientists' Welfare Commission has set itself the task of protecting the flats of scientists against compulsory sharing of dwelling space. The Commission has been actuated in this step by the fact that every scientist possesses a library, some of them—book collections which are under the protection of the Central Committee of the State Library. Professors, whose work involves the use of laboratories equipped with expensive instruments, naturally expect that such rooms will not be regarded as excess floor space subject to distribution. Doctors of medicine, too, besides a consulting-room and a waiting-room for patients, often have separate rooms for their laboratory work. One would expect all these things to be taken into consideration, but practice in Petrograd points the other way.

For example, Senior Lecturer of the Department of Syphilology of the Medical Sciences Institute Madam A. N. Domernikova occupies a flat of 5 rooms in which live three adults and 5 children. Yet the Housing Committee has listed three rooms for occupation.

Professor S. P. Fyodorov of the Military Medical Academy lives in a flat of 6 rooms, one of which has a broken stove and is unfit for living in, while another gives access into another room. Thus, 4 of the 6 rooms are listed for occupation under the Decree, and of these 2 are occupied by the Professor's wife and her 17-year-old son. Although Professor Fyodorov has a large medical library for which a special room is needed and should be allowed to keep a consulting-room to receive patients, the local Housing Department has listed three rooms in this flat for compulsory occupation.



Envelope of Lenin's letter to Gorky of October 8, 1921

Professor N. N. Glubokovsky of Petrograd University has a flat of 4 rooms, of which one is a communicating room. Two rooms in this flat are occupied by a library, which is under the protection of the Central Committee of the State Library. When the Scientists' Welfare Commission interceded with the Central Housing Department to have this flat exempted from compulsory partial occupation, Comrade Dunkan, Manager of the Social Section of the Realty Division of the Central Housing Department, told the Commission to act according to the Decree and provide guarantee to scientists with special certificates issued by the trade union and endorsed by the local Executive Committee.

These are only a few of the examples descriptive of the position of scientists in Petrograd, and to this should be added the situation that arises in the case of flats whose occupants, scientific specialists, are absent from Petrograd for long periods on official business.

S. M. Danini, member of the staff of the Scientific Statistical Department, was away in Kiev in July 1919 on an

official errand. During her absence from the flat, in which her sister Vladimirova, a free-lance pianist, continued to live, a family was moved in at the end of August. This family consisting of four persons, was given four rooms out of the flat's five, and the things, books and manuscripts were dumped into the communicating room, while some of the things were seized by the new tenants, among them a bookcase containing valuable scientific books.

Geologist Y. S. Edelstein was sent on a mission to Siberia in 1918 by the Geological Committee. Owing to his long absence from Petrograd the Geological Committee, in good time, got in touch with the local Housing Department and the Flat Reservation Commission to have a warrant issued securing retention and protection of Edelstein's flat and property while he was away. On returning from his mission geologist Edelstein found his flat occupied, and the Housing Department suggested that he lodge in some other flat. On examination of his flat Edelstein found that his desk has been broken open and all the manuscripts, forming the result of his scientific labours, had been removed and piled in disorder in one of the rooms where some of his things had been placed, and he doubts whether all the manuscripts are intact.

All this shows that scientists in Petrograd are by no means safeguarded against possible violation of their normal living conditions enabling them to give themselves up to their work in peace, while persons going away on scientific missions are not at all sure that on returning to Petrograd they will find their property intact and will be able, without being obliged to divert time and energies in recovering their flats and personal belongings, to start working up the scientific material they have collected.

Considering such a situation to be quite abnormal, the Scientists' Welfare Commission insistently requests that proper instructions be urgently given to the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet to have the flats of professors and scientists safeguarded against compulsory occupation.

This measure should be applied not only to persons who receive an academic ration, but to all persons engaged in educational scientific work, and to those young scientists

who have been left at higher educational institutions to prepare for professorial activity. The decision as to whether one or another person can be qualified as a scientist belongs exclusively to the Scientists' Welfare Commission, whose members are fully competent in this matter.

Chairman of the Commission

M. Gorky

Written in October, not later then 21st, 1920

First published in 1958 in *V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gorky*, 1st. ed.

Printed from the original (C.P.A. I.M.L. of the C.C. C.P.S.U.)

V. I. LENIN TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE PETROGRAD SOVIET[190]

Dear Comrades,

In my opinion, to provide scientists with an extra room for a study, and for a laboratory, in Petrograd (a city exceptionally well off as regards apartments) is really and truly no sin. You should even have taken the initiative yourselves.

I strongly request you to get this thing moving and, if you disagree with me, to be kind enough to drop me a few words immediately, so that I see where the obstacle is.

With communist greetings,

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)

October 21

Written on October 21, 1920
Sent from Moscow to Petrograd

First published
in *Leningradskaya Pravda*,
September 13, 1924

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*,
Vol. 35, p. 460

A. M. GORKY TO V. I. LENIN

WITH V. I. LENIN' ENDORSEMENT

1.XI. Comrade Lezhava, read this and give your opinion in two words, please.

Yours,

Lenin

Vladimir Ilyich,

Please give orders for *white flour and rice to be given to* Kamo. He needs it, he is ill.

May I remind you that by transferring some institutions from Moscow to Petrograd you will free many flats there, since the housing crisis in Moscow, what with the approaching cold weather, is assuming tragic dimensions.

In view of the fact that the appearance of large quantities of Russian antiquarian objects on Western markets may give rise to claims on the part of their owners and even an embargo on the part of hostile governments, the *Expertise Commission should be given the right, by way of exception, to purchase works of art from citizens of the Soviet Repub[lic]* and have a definite sum at its disposal for that purpose.

Should there be occasion to make use of that right the Exp[ertise] Com[mission] will cause no loss to the Republic, since the things it will buy for depreciated Soviet paper money will be sold for gold.

The Moscow Expert[ise] Commission organised by me will have its first meeting on Wednesday, one o'clock, at Lezhava's office—it would be a good thing to have instructions given to A. M. Lezhava by that time.

According to my information there are still many warehouses in Moscow that have not been looted and there will probably be plenty of goods in them.

A. Peshkov

2.XI.20

Written not later than November 1, 1920.

First published in the magazine *Novy Mir*, 1963, No. 4

Printed from a photocopy (A. M. Gorky archives)

V. I. LENIN'S NOTE TO THE NARROW C.P.C.

Most urgent

Comrade Gorky writes me:

"May I remind you that by transferring some institutions from Moscow to Petrograd you will free many flats there, since the housing crisis in Moscow, what with the approaching cold weather is assuming tragic dimensions."

Please go into this, availing yourself of Comrade Zinoviev's presence in Moscow.

1.XI.20 Chairman, C.P.C. *V. Ulyanov (Lenin)*

First published in part in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Published in full in 1965 in V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 51, 5th Russ. ed.

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 51, p. 323, 5th Russ. ed.

A. M. GORKY TO V. I. LENIN

Vladimir Ilyich,

I have been told that Zaks is going to Germany, where, it is said, he intends to declare that the Soviet authorities gave no instructions to anybody for the printing of Russian books and take no responsibility for any such enterprise.

If Zaks does this he will be giving immense moral satisfaction and great material benefits to Julius Gessen[191] and other publishers in the whiteguard camp.

I very much doubt that bourgeois book-publishing firms will enter into an agreement with an official representative of the Soviet government on printing Russian publications abroad. At the same time it is clear to me that Zaks is going there with the express purpose of destroying confidence in the job organised by me and Grzhebin, who has gone abroad with the permission of the C.P.C., is acting on the basis of an agreement with the State Publishing House, has paper for ten million books and can have them printed at a cost of one and a half Duma rubles per signature. Grzhebin's affair is my affair, an affair that we have got running smoothly. Grzhebin writes to me: "When we shall have a catalogue of published books, then they can go ahead and nationalise." The books are being printed.

I earnestly request you to use every effort to see that Grzhebin is not prevented from carrying through this most important business which he has begun. As to Grzhebin's moral qualities, I am open to persuasion that the Zakses and Weisses are above Grzhebin in this respect.

It is intended, as I hear, to take on old Soikin at the State Publishers in the capacity of specialist.

Why on earth should a semi-literate publisher of that utterly banal *Mir Priklyuchenii** and other such trivia be preferred to Grzhebin, who has not published a single banal book?

All this is extremely odd. I see no sense in it, but I do feel something nasty about it—petty malice and contemptible punctured vanity directed against a serious job.

I ask you to intervene most strongly into these "mysteries of the Soviet court".

Believe me, you will be doing a good service if you intervene in this matter as definitely as you did in that fine case of Klasson.

A. Peshkov

It is most important for me to know the attitude of publishers in Russia to the continued existence of the business which I have organised and Grzhebin has conducted.

A. P.

2.XI.20

First published in 1957 in the collection *M. Gorky. Pisma o literature*

Printed from the original (C.P.A. I.M.L. of the C.C. C.P.S.U.)

* The World of Adventures.—*Tr.*

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. LEZHAVA

Copy to **Comrade Kursky**

15/XI

Comrade Lezhava,

Gorky reminds me about issuing a decree concerning confiscation of the property of emigrants.

I believe this was already arranged.

What's the hitch?

Please find out, hurry them up and tell me at the C.P.C. on 16.XI.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on November 15, 1920
First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 52, pp. 10-11, 5th Russ. ed.

A. M. GORKY TO V. I. LENIN

WITH V. I. LENIN'S MARKS

Remind me on 21 or 22/XI

21.XI.20

Dear Vladimir Ilyich,

1. The C.P.C.'s decision to send antiquarians Rakitsky and Savostin abroad was taken on October 23rd.

To this day Savostin and Rakitsky still have no visas of the Special Department of the Vecheka. *Litvinov*, who deals with such cases, *told* Maria Fyodorovna that as Savostin and Rakitsky were unknown abroad *they would not be allowed out* (?). Maria Fyodorovna asks me to inform you of Litvinov's opinion and to ask you to interfere in this matter in order to speed up Savostin's and Rakitsky's departure.

2. The ration for members and employees of the Expertise Commission has not been issued to this day, meanwhile the Petrograd Expertise Commission is increasing the number of its workers—in accordance with the decision of the C.P.C.—and they, having no ration, are complaining.

3. From Chutskayev's memo, enclosed herewith, it is obvious that he misinterprets the duties of the Expertise Commission and that your point of view has not been adopted by him. The Commission has in mind not "art objects or antiques", but silverwork of the Sazikov, Fabergé, Ovchinnikov and Khlebnikov factories, that is, merchandise, which, owing to suspension of production, have now become antiquarian goods. Since these manufactures have increased in value several times over there is no sense in remelting them into bars; this would be senseless, because unprofitable. Therefore, *it is necessary for the Foreign Trade Commissariat to be allowed to inspect the Komorin storerooms in which the confiscated silverware is kept.*

4. *It is necessary* to issue a decree confiscating the property of emigrants.[192]

5. You promised to visit the Lazarev Physics Institute with A. I. Rykov. When could you do this?*

6. To this day Dr. Manukhin, whose trip to the Pasteur Institute was sanctioned as far back as September, cannot start on his journey because the Special Department of the Vecheka has not issued a visa. Either this foreign trip should be cancelled to enable Manukhin to get down to work in Russia, or he should be allowed to go.

A. Peshkov

First published in 1958 in *V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gorky*, 1st ed.

Printed from the original (C.P.A. I.M.L. of the C.C. C.P.S.U.)

* This paragraph has been crossed out twice by Lenin.—*Ed.*

A. M. GORKY TO V. I. LENIN, CHAIRMAN OF THE C.P.C.

To Vladimir Ilyich Lenin,
Chairman of the C.P.C.

March 29, 1921

PETITION[193]

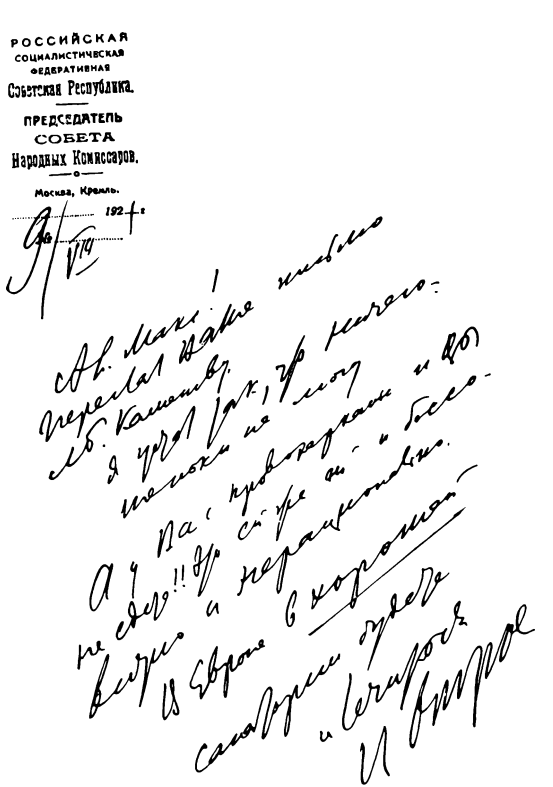
Owing to the complete liquidation of the Petrograd section of the C.P.C.'s Motor Transport Depot in accordance with a decision of the C.P.C., the Scientists' Welfare Commission, which has been using these transport facilities, will be placed in an extremely difficult position caused by lack of the means of transportation.

Therefore the Scientists' Welfare Commission, which has always enjoyed your support in all its undertakings, requests your consent to having the C.P.C. Motor Transport Depot provide the Commission with 10 horses (4 for light carriages and 6 draught horses) out of the 400 horses which it possesses.

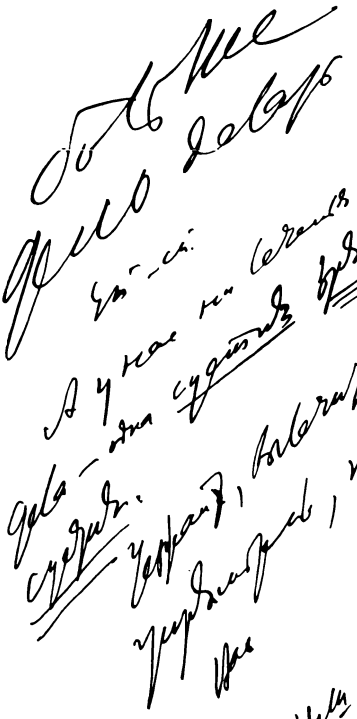
Chairman of the Commission
M. Gorky

First published in 1961 in *V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gorky*, 2nd ed.

Printed from the original (A. M. Gorky archives)



Lenin's letter to Gorky
of August 9, 1921



V. I. LENIN TO V. R. MENZHINSKY

24.VI.1921

Comrade Menzhinsky,

Gorky visited me yesterday and told me that you promised to help him, I believe on some matter concerning the Expertise Commission.

He asks for two automobiles.

Do you mean to say you haven't the power to give him such a trifle from the Petrograd gubernia Cheka?

If you cannot, let me know at once and I shall ask Sklyansky to do it.

Gorky *must be* helped, and *quickly*, as he is not going abroad because of it. *And he is spitting blood!*

And so, either give urgent orders, show your authority, see they are *carried out* (and not just papers).

If you can't, answer me at once and return this, and I shall apply to the military department.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

First published in 1932
in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*,
Vol. 52, p. 289, 5th Russ. ed.

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

9/VIII.1921

Alexei Maximovich,

I have sent your letter on to L. B. Kamenev.[194]

I am so tired that I am unable to do a thing.

Just think, you have been spitting blood, but refuse to go!! This is truly most shameless and unreasonable on your part.

In a *good* sanatorium in Europe, you will receive treatment, *and also do three times as much useful work.*

Really and truly.

Over here you have neither treatment, nor work—nothing but *hustle.* **Plain empty** *hustle.*

Go away and recover. I beg you not to be stubborn.

Yours,
Lenin

Sent to Petrograd

First published in 1924
in the magazine
Russky Sovremennik No. 1

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works,*
Vol. 45, p. 249

V. I. LENIN'S NOTES MADE DURING A CONVERSATION WITH A. M. GORKY

(Gorky)
29,000 printed signatures
Scientific work during the war:
1. Grum-Grzhimailo, fuel man
2. Fuel decomposition by water
3. Vernadsky, structure of earth's crust
4. Magnetic anomalies
Kursk + Crimean
Jerome Davis, Baltimore professor $1 mill.

Our editing:
(on economics) Osadchy
(mathematics) Steklov
(natural sciences) Pinkevich
astronomy Ivanov
anatomy Tonkov
Surgeon?
Receive *Pinkevich* (here in Moscow until Saturday). *Find him through Gorky.*

Written in September or October 1921

Printed from *Lenin Miscellany*

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*, p. 303

A. M. GORKY TO V. I. LENIN

Dear Vladimir Ilyich,

On going away I am leaving here three institutions organised by me and dear to me, and, which I dare to hope, are of serious state importance.

The first of them in importance and complexity of its work is the Expertise Commission. I fear that it may be ransacked in the three months I shall be away. I earnestly request you to have A. R. Diderix confirmed as my deputy in the Commission. He is a man whom I fully trust and who knows his business.

Second: the Scientists' Welfare Commission and the House of Scientists—here I am leaving as my deputy A. P. Pinkevich, an energetic worker and a good man.

I would ask you from time to time to receive him to report to you personally and clear things up with you.

Third: Vsemirnaya Literatura. My deputy here, A. N. Tikhonov, is going to Germany on business, and Pinkevich will remain in my place here too.

I earnestly request you to take care of this institution to prevent it from being ruined by young unschooled reformers—I am afraid of people whose energy is equal to their ignorance.

In regard to Diderix I am enclosing a separate memo.

I sincerely wish you good health. Please remember me to N[adezhda] Konst[antinovna].

Goodbye till we meet again at the end of March.

A. Peshkov

8.X.21

Please confirm Andrei Romanovich Diderix as my deputy in the Petrograd Expertise Commission. He is a man who has been working with me uninterruptedly since the Commission's foundation and has deputised for me during my visits to Moscow.

He is a man of impeccable honesty, who has a splendid knowledge of and love for the work of the Commission and there is no one else I can trust for this job.

Should Diderix not be confirmed for some reason or other, please let me know so that I can in good time discard responsibility for the further work of the Commission and for the safety of its many-millioned property.

M. Gorky

8.X.21

Published for the first time

Printed from the original (C.P.A. I.M.L. of the C.C. C.P.S.U.)

A. M. GORKY TO V. I. LENIN

Dear Vladimir Ilyich,

I earnestly request you to receive and hear out Alexander Nikolayevich Tikhonov—he is an old friend of mine and my deputy in Vsemirnaya Literatura.

Please do!

10.X.21 *A. Peshkov*

First published in 1958 in *V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gorky*, 1st. ed.

Printed from the original (A. M. Gorky archives)

V. I. LENIN TO A. M. GORKY

6/XII.

Dear A. M.,

I am very sorry to write in haste. I am terribly tired. I've got insomnia. I am going away for treatment.

I have been requested to write to you: would you write to *Bernard Shaw* asking him to go to America, and to *Wells* who is said to be in America now, to get them both to help us in collecting aid to the starving?

It would be a good thing if you wrote them.

The starving will then get a bit more.

The famine is very bad.

Make sure to have a good rest and better treatment.

Regards,
Lenin

Written on December 6, 1921
Sent to Berlin

First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 45, p. 404

A. M. GORKY TO V. I. LENIN

WITH V. I. LENIN'S MARKS

I have received your letter, my dear V. I.

Wells, apparently, has already left for India, where he intended to go soon after the conference. I wrote asking him to influence Harding—which, I believe, he has done—and also to discuss the question of relief for the famine-stricken with the Carnegie Committee[195] and with John Rockefeller—I have sent them my appeals. I have had no reply from Wells, but I am sure that my letter found him in America, because in one of his articles he quotes phrases from my letter. It is useless writing to B. Shaw—that old blagueur is always indulging in witticisms and flaunting his scepticism.

I received a wire today from Basle, from *National Zeitung*, offering me to receive the money collected in Switzerland—I recommended them to transfer the money to Berlin, to the Krestinsky-Ionov Committee,[196] as there is no sense in sending francs to this godforsaken hole.

The other day I sent for Zinovy Peshkov, who is in Paris—he is my so-called adopted son and brother of the Sverdlovs—he has been elected secretary of the International Relief Commission and is fairly influential in this matter. The information he has given me concerning the progress of money collections is very interesting: the urban and rural communes in France give money most generously and willingly; up to December 15 over 80 communes have donated all the sums intended for arranging communal fêtes. The schools are giving quite a lot, the workers of the ports of Havre and Marseilles are loading a whole steamer, and France's wealthy South is contributing widely. I have urged Zinovy to send the money as quickly as possible at least to Krasin.

Generally I am doing everything I can: I have information that quite a lot of money and grain have been collected in Brazil and Argentina too. The trouble is that all this work is not being taken care of by any central body and is a sort of retail business; no one knows where to send the money, or whether to buy food with it, clothes, boots, and so on.

I think that agents should be appointed in all countries to take care of collections, that is, people who could advise where to send the money, what to buy, and generally who would push things on, speed up deliveries of grain and foodstuffs to Russia. I would strongly recommend for this role Maria Fyodorovna, and also Maria Ignatievna Benkendorf—a very energetic and educated woman—speaks five languages. She was a countess, but that should not be held against her—all kinds of things may happen, especially with women.

In my opinion this should be done.

Well, I have Germans of all ages and professions coming to see me, all talking about the need for a Russo-German union. I am in sympathy with such a union and urge them in Russian—get unified quickly! They are wonderful at work! Just think: on 20.XII they count 47,600 unemployed throughout the country! I can hardly believe it, but it looks true. At the sanatorium in which I am living they are putting up a new huge building, blasting the mountain with dynamite, running up walls, crushing rock for ferro-concrete—and all this done cleverly, economically, solidly, damn it! Watching it, you think ruefully: if only we could work like that and love the work! If only!

The Schwarzwald Germans are apparently a very canny lot, rather insincere, but when they talk about an alliance with Russia you feel this to be a lively and well-considered interest. The masses, too, I believe, take kindly to the idea of an alliance.

The journalists are after me, but I don't want to speak to them—they twist things round shamelessly and maliciously. I don't see the Russian emigration, but I feel them. I receive threatening—very stupid—letters from them promising to shoot me, and so on, but I also receive letters which testify to a sharp change of sentiment and a growing desire "to work with the Soviets".

Their literature is of staggering inanity. Lvov, the former Procurator of the Synod, is said to have written a book in the manner of the *Smena Vekh*.[197] I am corresponding with the Smena-Vekh people.

I am receiving treatment. Two hours a day I lie out in the air in all weathers—we chaps here are not pampered: rain or snow—you've got to lie! And we do resignedly. There are 263 of us here, one more tuberculous than the other. Life is very expensive.

It's a beautiful place. Mountains, woods, lots of squirrels and thrushes and all kinds of other small birds. You ought to come out here for a month, take a rest from production of the old economic policy. I am joking, of course, I know you won't go anywhere.

Keep well and look after yourself. Remember, your Russian is a man of the most unpredictable behaviour—he'll play a dirty trick, then wonder: what made me do it?

All the best!

A. Peshkov

25.XII.21
St. Blasien

First published in part in 1958 in *V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gorky*, 1st ed.
Published in full for the first time

Printed from the original (C.P.A. I.M.L. of the C.C. C.P.S.U.)

II

V. I. LENIN ABOUT A. M. GORKY

From THE ARTICLE "DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE BEGUN"

A fortnight ago we observed the twenty-fifth anniversary of the first social-revolutionary demonstration in Russia, which took place on December 6, 1876, on Kazan Square in St. Petersburg,[198] and we pointed to the enormous upswing in the number and magnitude of the demonstrations at the beginning of the current year. We urged that the demonstrators should advance a political slogan more clearly defined than "Land and Freedom"[199] (1876), and a more far-reaching demand than "Repeal the Provisional Regulations"[200] (1901). Such a slogan must be: *political freedom*; and the demand to be put forward by the entire people has to be *the demand for the convocation of the people's representatives.*

We see now that demonstrations are being revived on the most varied grounds in Nizhni-Novgorod, in Moscow, and in Kharkov. Public unrest is growing everywhere, and more and more imperative becomes the necessity to unify it into one single current directed *against the autocracy*, which everywhere sows tyranny, oppression, and violence. On November 7, a small but successful demonstration was held in Nizhni-Novgorod, which arose out of a farewell gathering in honour of Maxim Gorky. An author of European fame, whose only weapon was free speech (as a speaker at the Nizhni-Novgorod demonstration aptly put it), was being banished by the autocratic government from his home-town without trial or investigation. The bashibazouks accuse him of exercising a harmful influence on us, said the speaker in the name of all Russians in whom but a spark of striving towards light and liberty is alive, but we declare that his influence has been a good one. The myrmidons of the tsar perpetrate their outrages in secret, and we will expose their

outrages publicly and openly. In Russia, workers are assaulted for demanding their right to a better life; students are assaulted for protesting against tyranny. Every honest and bold utterance is suppressed! The demonstration, in which workers took part, was concluded by a student reciting: "Tyranny shall fall, and the people shall rise—mighty, free, and strong!"

In Moscow, hundreds of students waited at the station to greet Gorky. Meanwhile, the police, scared out of their wits, *arrested* him on the train *en route* and (despite the special permission previously granted him) prohibited his entering Moscow, forcing him to change directly from the Nizhni-Novgorod to the Kursk line. The demonstration against Gorky's banishment failed; but on the eighteenth of November, without any preparation, a small demonstration of students and "strangers" (as our Ministers put it) took place in front of the Governor General's house against the prohibition of a social evening arranged for the previous day to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the death of N. A. Dobrolyubov. The representative of the autocracy in Moscow was howled down by people who, in unison with all educated and thinking people in Russia, held dear the memory of a writer who had passionately hated tyranny and passionately looked forward to a people's uprising against the "Turks at home", i.e., against the autocratic government. The Executive Committee of the Moscow Students' Organisations rightly pointed out in its bulletin of November 23 that the unprepared demonstration served as a striking indication of the prevailing discontent and protest....

First published on December 20, 1901 in *Iskra* No. 13

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, pp. 322-23

From N. K. KRUPSKAYA'S LETTER TO V. F. GURVICH-KOZHEVNIKOVA ("NATASHA")

Everything that you write about Gorky[201] is very pleasant, all the more as the money is badly needed. I quite agree that it is not worthwhile sending people there from everywhere, even though we considered Gorky's meeting with Claire very useful. Ask Gorky to write for us and let us know the paróle immediately (in the event of you both being caught)....

Written on October 24, 1902
Sent from London to Moscow

Printed from the original
(C.P.A. I.M.L. of the C.C. C.P.S.U.)

FROM A LETTER TO R. S. ZEMLYACHKA

Reply 13.XII

Congratulations on the successful start of the raid on Bukva, which we would ask you to carry to the end.[202] The paper has been launched, we expect to put it out in January.[203] (*Money is desperately needed.* Please do everything you can at once to send at least 1,000-2,000 rubles, otherwise we shall be in the air and everything will be left to chance.) Let us know at once: 1) when will you see Bukva and when do you hope to clear up the matter, 2) exactly how much has Bukva promised to give per month? 3) did you speak to Bukva about *Sysoika* and what did you say? 4) what was the nature of the meeting between Bukva and *Charushnikov* to have been (concerning a talk with Sysoika? general acquaintance? or the handing over of the money?)? Did the meeting take place and when will you know the results?

Written on December 13, 1904
Sent from Geneva to Russia

First published in 1964
in V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*,
5th Russ. ed.

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*,
Vol. 43, p. 146

EXTRACT FROM THE *VOSSISCHE ZEITUNG* CONCERNING THE MOVEMENT OF STUDENTS AT THE POLYTECHNIC IN RIGA

Riga

The correspondent of a German newspaper, the *Vossische Zeitung* reports on January 27 (14). The arrest of Gorky created a tremendous impression.[204] The students here, who had decided on the eve to keep calm, held a big meeting at noon yesterday in the assembly hall of the Polytechnic to which only ticket holders were admitted. The decision to behave peacefully was reversed. It was decided to keep together with the workers outside the Polytechnic and "to disturb the existing order". The correspondent also ascribes to student initiative the shots that were fired at the police out of the crowd—on the basis of rumours, of course. Among those taking part in the movement are unincorporated students, that is, southerners, Russians, whose entrance at Riga and Derpt was encouraged by the government.

Written early in February 1905
First published in 1934 in *Lenin Miscellany XXVI*, p. 255

Printed from *Lenin Miscellany*

From THE ARTICLE "TREPOV IN THE SADDLE"

Cruel reprisals against all the discontented have become the government's slogan since January 9.[205] On Tuesday, Trepov, one of the most hated servitors of tsarism in the whole of Russia, notorious in Moscow for his brutality, his coarseness, and his participation in the Zubatovist attempts to demoralise the workers, was appointed Governor-General of St. Petersburg with dictatorial powers.

Arrests came thick and fast as from a horn of plenty. The first to be arrested were the members of the liberal delegation, which, late on Saturday evening, had gone to Witte and Svyatopolk-Mirsky to request the government to receive the workers' petition and not to order the troops to fire

on the peaceful demonstration. It goes without saying that these requests proved of no avail. Witte referred the delegation to Svyatopolk-Mirsky; the latter refused to receive it. The Deputy-Minister of the Interior, Rydziewski, received the delegation very coldly and declared that it was not the government that had to be persuaded, but the workers, that the government was fully informed of everything that was going on, and that it had already made decisions which no requests could alter. It is interesting that at the meeting of the liberals which appointed this delegation the suggestion had even been made to dissuade the workers from marching to the Winter Palace, upon which a friend of Gapon's who was present at the meeting declared that this would be useless, since the workers' decision was irrevocable. (This information was reported by Mr. Dillon, correspondent of the English *Daily Telegraph*, and subsequently corroborated by other correspondents.)

The members of the delegation—Gessen, Arsenyev, Kareyev, Peshekhonov, Myakotin, Semevsky, Kedrin, Shnitnikov, Ivanchin-Pisarev, and Gorky (who was arrested in Riga and brought to St. Petersburg)—were held in custody on the ridiculous charge that they intended to organise a "provisional government of Russia" on the day after the revolution. Such a charge, of course, is bound to collapse of itself. A number of the arrested men (Arsenyev, Kedrin, and Shnitnikov) have been released. A vigorous campaign in behalf of Gorky has been started in educated bourgeois circles abroad, and a petition to the tsar for his release was signed by many prominent German scientists and writers. These have now been joined by scientists and men of letters in Austria, France, and Italy....

First published on February 7, 1905 in the newspaper *Vperyod* No. 5

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 8, pp. 132-33

From THE ARTICLE "BEFORE THE STORM"

All evidence goes to show that temper is rising. An explosion is inevitable and may be near at hand. The executions in Sveaborg and Kronstadt,[206] the reprisals against the

peasants, the persecution of the Trudovik members of the Duma—all this serves only to intensify hatred, to spread determination and concentrated readiness for battle. More audacity, comrades! More confidence in the strength of the revolutionary classes, especially the proletariat, enriched as they now are by new experience; more independent initiative! All the signs indicate that we are on the eve of a great struggle. All efforts must be directed towards making it simultaneous, concentrated, full of that heroism of the masses which has marked all the great stages of the great Russian revolution. Let the liberals cravenly hint at this coming struggle solely for the purpose of threatening the government, let these narrow-minded philistines concentrate the whole force of their "mind and sentiments" on the expectation of a new election—the proletariat is preparing for the struggle; it is unitedly and boldly marching to meet the storm, eager to plunge into the thick of the fight. We have had enough of the hegemony of the cowardly Cadets, those "stupid penguins" who "timidly hide their fat bodies behind the rocks".

"Let the storm rage louder!"[207]

First published on August 21, 1906 in *Proletary* No. 1

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 11, pp. 139-40

TO M. I. ULYANOVA

Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova,
Davydov's House, Apt. 4,
Bozheninsky Street,
Devichye Polye,
Moscow,
Russia

Dear Manyasha,

Today I received an issue of *Utro Rossii* with the vulgar nonsense about Gorky.[208] For some days now a number of newspapers in Paris (*L'Eclair*) and in Berlin (*Berliner Tageblatt*) have been engaged in similar lies. Some days ago there was a good refutation of this mass of lies in *Vorwärts*,[209] where it was very correctly demonstrated and very wittily

explained that this is all one big nonsensical invention. Some fool heard rumours he did not understand and got everything wrong—scraps he had picked up about otzovism, the school, philosophy and so on. *Utro Rossii* must be a shady little rag to have cooked up an "interview" just for the sake of sensation. Today *Rech* is also engaged in the fabrication of similar scandal. The Cadets are happy to have something to lie and talk scandal about.

How are you? How is Mother? I have had no news from you for quite a while. Write and let me know how you are getting on, what you are doing, and how Mitya is. There have been no changes here. Winter is beginning—I go to the library. The apartment is warm. Y. V.[210] is feeling rather poorly. Nadya is zealously studying French.

All the best, kiss Mother many, many times.

Yours,
V. U.

P. S. Did you get the reply to the historian? With regard to my books at Sablino—*if the opportunity occurs*, it would be fine to ask one of our St. Petersburg friends to send them to me here, if not all of them, then at least what there is of Marx and Engels and the best of the classics.

Written on December 3 or 4, 1909
Sent from Paris

First published in 1929
in the journal
Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya No. 11

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*,
Vol. 37, pp. 440-41

THE BOURGEOIS PRESS FABLE ABOUT THE EXPULSION OF GORKY

For several days now the bourgeois newspapers of France (*L'Eclair*, *Le Radical*), Germany (*Berliner Tageblatt*) and Russia (*Utro Rossii*, *Rech*, *Russkoye Slovo*,[211] *Novoye Vremya*[212]) have been smacking their lips over a most sensational piece of news: the expulsion of Gorky from the Social-Democratic Party. *Vorwärts* has already published a refutation of this nonsensical report. The editorial board of

Proletary has also sent a denial to several newspapers, but the bourgeois press ignores it and continues to boost the libel.

It is easy to see how it originated: some penny-a-liner overheard a whisper of the dissensions about otzovism and god-building (a question which has been discussed openly for almost a year in the Party in general and in *Proletary* in particular), made an unholy mess in weaving together his fragments of information and "earned a pretty penny" out of imaginary "interviews", etc.

The aim of this slanderous campaign is no less clear. The bourgeois parties *would like* Gorky to leave the Social-Democratic Party. The bourgeois newspapers are sparing no effort to fan the dissensions in the Social-Democratic Party and to give a distorted picture of them.

Their labour is in vain. Comrade Gorky by his great works of art has bound himself too closely to the workers' movement in Russia and throughout the world to reply with anything but contempt.

First published on November 28, 1909 in *Proletary* No. 50

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 16, p. 106

From *NOTES OF A PUBLICIST*

I

The "Platform" of the Adherents and Defenders of Otzovism

The present inter-revolutionary period cannot be explained away as a mere accident. There is no doubt now that we are confronted by a special stage in the development of the autocracy, in the development of the bourgeois monarchy, bourgeois Black-Hundred parliamentarism and the bourgeois policy of tsarism in the countryside, and that the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie is supporting all this. The present period is undoubtedly a *transitional* period "between two waves of the revolution", but in order to prepare for the second revolution we must master the peculiarities of this transition, we must be able to adapt our tactics and organisation to this difficult, hard, sombre

transition forced on us by the whole trend of the "campaign". Using the Duma tribune, as well as all other legal opportunities, is one of the humble methods of struggle which do not result in anything "spectacular". But the transitional period is transitional precisely because its specific task is to prepare and rally the *forces*, and not to bring them into immediate and decisive action. To know how to organise this work, which is devoid of outward glamour, to know how to utilise for this purpose all those semi-legal institutions which are peculiar to the period of the Black-Hundred-Octobrist Duma, to know how to uphold *even on this basis* all the traditions of revolutionary Social-Democracy, all the slogans of its recent heroic past, the entire spirit of its work, its irreconcilability with opportunism and reformism—such is the *task of the Party*, such is the task of the moment.

We have examined the new platform's first deviation from the tactics set out in the resolution of the December Conference of 1908.[213] We have seen that it is a deviation towards otzovist ideas, ideas that have nothing in common either with the Marxist analysis of the present situation or with the fundamental premises of revolutionary Social-Democratic tactics in general. Now we must examine the second original feature of the new platform.

This feature is the task, proclaimed by the new group, of "creating" and "disseminating among the masses a new, proletarian" culture: "of developing proletarian science, of strengthening genuine comradely relations among the proletarians, of developing a proletarian philosophy, of directing art towards proletarian aspirations and experience" (p. 17).

Here you have an example of that naïve diplomacy which in the new platform serves to cover up the essence of the matter! Is it not really naïve to insert *between* "science" and "philosophy" the "strengthening of genuine comradely relations"? The new group introduces into the *platform* its supposed *grievances*, its accusations against the other groups (namely, against the orthodox Bolsheviks in the first place) that *they* have broken "genuine comradely relations". Such is precisely the *real* content of this amusing clause.

Here "proletarian science" also looks "sad and out of place". First of all, we know now of only one proletarian science—Marxism. For some reason the authors of the plat-

form systematically avoid this, the only precise term, and everywhere use the words "scientific socialism" (pp. 13, 15, 16, 20, 21). It is common knowledge that even outright opponents of Marxism lay claim to this latter term in Russia. In the second place, if the task of developing "proletarian science" is introduced in the platform, it is necessary to state plainly just what ideological and theoretical struggle of our day is meant here and whose side the authors of the platform take. Silence on this point is a naïve subterfuge, for the *essence of the matter* is obvious to everyone who is acquainted with the Social-Democratic literature of 1908-09. In *our* day a struggle between the Marxists and the Machists has come to the fore and is being waged in the domain of science, philosophy and art. It is ridiculous, to say the least, to shut one's eyes to this commonly known fact. "Platforms" should be written not in order to gloss over differences but in order to explain them.

Our authors clumsily give themselves away by the above-quoted passage of the platform. Everyone knows that it is *Machism* that is *in fact* implied by the term "proletarian philosophy"—and every intelligent Social-Democrat will at once decipher the "new" *pseudonym*. There was no point in inventing this pseudonym, no point in trying to hide behind it. In actual fact, the most influential literary nucleus of the new group is Machist, and it regards non-Machist philosophy as non-"proletarian".

Had they wanted to speak of it in the platform, they should have said: the new group unites those who will fight against non-"proletarian", i.e., non-Machist, theories in philosophy and art. That would have been a straightforward, truthful and open declaration of a well-known *ideological* trend, an open challenge to the other tendencies. When an ideological struggle is held to be of great importance for the Party, one does not hide but comes out with an open declaration of war.

And we shall call upon everyone to give a definite and clear answer to the platform's veiled declaration of a philosophical struggle against Marxism. *In reality*, all the phraseology about "proletarian culture" is just a screen for the *struggle against Marxism*. The "original" feature of the new group is that it has introduced *philosophy* into the Party platform without stating frankly *what* tendency in philosophy it advocates.

Incidentally, it would be incorrect to say that the real content of the words of the platform quoted above is wholly negative. They have a certain positive content. This positive content can be expressed in one name: Maxim Gorky.

Indeed, there is no need to conceal the fact already proclaimed by the bourgeois press (which has distorted and twisted it), namely, that Gorky is one of the adherents of the new group. And Gorky is undoubtedly the greatest representative of *proletarian* art, one who has done a great deal for this art and is capable of doing still more in the future. Any faction of the Social-Democratic Party would be justly proud of having Gorky as a member, but to introduce "proletarian art" into the *platform* on this ground means giving this platform a certificate of poverty, means reducing one's group to a literary *circle*, which exposes itself as being precisely "authoritarian".... The authors of the platform say a great deal against recognising authorities, without explaining directly what it is all about. The fact is that they regard the Bolsheviks' defence of materialism in philosophy and the Bolsheviks' struggle against otzovism as the enterprise of individual "authorities" (a gentle hint at a serious matter) whom the enemies of Machism, they say, "trust blindly". Such sallies, of course, are quite childish. But it is precisely the Vperyodists who mistreat authorities. Gorky is an authority in the domain of proletarian art—that is beyond dispute. The attempt to "utilise" (in the ideological sense, of course) *this* authority to bolster up Machism and otzovism is an *example* of how one should not treat *authorities*.

In the field of proletarian art Gorky is an enormous *asset* in spite of his sympathies for Machism and otzovism. But a *platform* which sets up within the Party a separate group of otzovists and Machists and advances the development of alleged "proletarian" art as a special task of the group is a *minus* in the development of the Social-Democratic proletarian movement, because this platform wants to consolidate and utilise the very features in the activities of an outstanding authority which represent his weak side and are a negative quantity in the enormous service he renders the proletariat.

First published on March 6, 1910
in *Diskussionny Listok* No. 1

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 16, pp. 204-07

From A LETTER TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV

Poor Gorky! What a pity that he has disgraced himself by putting his signature under that rotten little paper of the Russian liberal gentry.[214] Both Meshkovsky and Plekhanov and others (including Maslov and Smirnov) have sunk to the same level.

Written on October 31, 1914
Sent to Stockholm from Berne
First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany II*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, p. 171

TO THE AUTHOR OF "THE SONG OF THE FALCON"

Every class-conscious worker will feel a pang when he sees Gorky's signature alongside that of P. Struve under the chauvinistic-clerical protest against German barbarity.

In a talk we once had about Chaliapin's genuflections, Gorky said: "You can't judge him too strictly; we artists have a different mentality." In other words, the artist frequently acts under the influence of his emotion, which attains such a force that it suppresses all other considerations.

Let that be so. Let us say that Chaliapin must not be strictly judged. He is an artist, and nothing more. He is a stranger to the cause of the proletariat: today, he is a friend of the workers, tomorrow, a reactionary, moved by his emotion.

But the workers have grown accustomed to regard Gorky as their own. They have always believed that his heart beats as warmly as theirs for the cause of the proletariat, and that he has dedicated his talent to the service of this cause.

That is why they keep sending messages of greetings to Gorky, and that is why his name is so dear to them. It is this trust on the part of the class-conscious workers that imposes on Gorky a certain *duty*—to cherish his good name and to refrain from putting his signature to all sorts of

cheap chauvinist protests which could well confuse the workers who lack political consciousness. They are still unable to find their bearings in many situations, and could be led astray by Gorky's name. Struve's name will not confuse any worker, but Gorky's may.

Therefore, the class-conscious workers, who well realise the falsehood and the vulgarity of this hypocritical protest against the "German barbarians", must feel that they have to rebuke the author of *The Song of the Falcon*. They will tell him: "At this hard and responsible moment through which the proletariat of Russia is going, we expected you to go hand in hand with its leading fighters and not with Mr. Struve & Co.!"

First published on December 5, 1914 in the newspaper *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 34

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 41, pp. 344-45

From A LETTER TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV

...I cannot dwell more fully on theoretical agreement. The enemy has already seized on the stupid repudiation of the significance of democracy (Potresov in No. 1 of *Dyelo*). Bazarov has made a fool of himself in *Letopis*. Bogdanov is talking *another kind* of balderdash, but *also* balderdash in *Letopis*. An exceptionally suspicious bloc of the Machists and the O.C.-ists[215] has come into being there. A shameful bloc! It's hardly likely that we can break it up.... Should we perhaps try a bloc with the Machists against the O.C.-ists? Hardly likely to succeed!! Gorky is always supremely spineless in politics, a prey to emotion and passing moods.

The legal press in Russia is acquiring exceptional importance, and therefore the question of the correct line, too, becomes still more and more important, because it is easier for the enemy to "bombard" us in this field.

...As regards legal literature, I will also add: it is important to ascertain whether they will accept my articles in *Letopis* (if the O.C.-ists cannot be thrown out by means of a bloc with the Machists). With restrictions? Which?

We must find out in greater detail about Volna.[216]

As regards myself personally, I will say that I need to earn. Otherwise we shall simply die of hunger, really and truly!! The cost of living is devilishly high, and there is nothing to live on. The cash must be dragged *by force** out of the publisher of *Letopis*, to whom my two pamphlets[218] have been sent (let him pay *at once* and as much as possible!). The same with Bonch. The same as regards *translations*. If this is not organised I really will not be able to hold out, this is absolutely serious, absolutely, absolutely.

Written later than October 3, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Stockholm

First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany II*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, pp. 233, 236

From A LETTER TO INESSA ARMAND

My manuscript about imperialism has reached Petersburg, and now they write today that the publisher (and this is Gorky! oh the calf!) is dissatisfied with the sharp passages against... who do you think?... Kautsky! He wants to get in touch with me about it!!! Both laughable and disappointing.

There it is, my fate. One fighting campaign after another—against political stupidities, philistinism, opportunism and so forth.

It has been going on since 1893. And so has the hatred of the philistines on account of it. But still, I would not exchange this fate for "peace" with the philistines....

Written on December 18, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Clarens (Switzerland)

First published in 1949
in *Bolshevik* No. 1

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, p. 259

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* About cash Belenin will have a talk with Katin,[217] and with Gorky himself, of course *if it is not* inconvenient.

TO M. N. POKROVSKY

December 21, 1916

Dear M. N.,

I have received your postcard of December 14, 1916. If they write to you that the publisher* owes me "in addition to the 500 rubles another 300 rubles", I must say that I consider he owes me *more*, because he accepted (1) my work on the agrarian question, Part I and (2) my wife's booklet on an educational subject. And I consider that there is an obligation to pay for what has been accepted, once the manuscript has been delivered.

I wrote about this to Petersburg, but my contacts with Petersburg are exceptionally weak and intolerably slow.

You "thought it possible" to throw out the criticism of Kautsky in my pamphlet.... Sad! Really, really sad. Why? Would it not be better to ask the publishers: print outright, gentlemen, that *we*—the publishers—have eliminated criticism of Kautsky. Really, that is how it should have been done.... Of course, I am obliged to submit to the publisher, but let the publisher not be afraid to say what he wants and what he doesn't want; let the publisher answer for the cuts, not I.

You write: "You won't thrash me, will you?", i.e., for agreeing to throw out this criticism?? Alas, alas, we live in too civilised an age to settle questions so simply....

Joking aside, it is sad, devil take it.... Well, I shall settle accounts with Kautsky in another place.

I shake your hand and send my best greetings.

V. Ulyanov

Sent from Zurich to Sceaux (Seine) (France)

First published in full in 1932 in the second edition of Lenin's *Collected Works*, Vol. XXIX

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, pp. 262-63

* A. M. Gorky—*Ed.*

TO M. N. POKROVSKY

Dear M. N.,

I received your postcard and thank you very much for the trouble you have taken to save my pamphlet. Really, you are mistaken in thinking that I blame you in any way. Not at all! I am sure that without your intervention it would have been much worse, as the publisher* evidently gives an ear to "outside" advice from the philistine camp. It can't be helped. One good thing—you have succeeded nevertheless in saving some part of it (and a fairly large part). All the best wishes for a happy New Year.

Yours,
Lenin

Written on January 3, 1917

Sent from Zurich to Sceaux (Seine) (France)

First published on April 22, 1958 in the newspaper *Komsomolskaya Pravda* No. 95

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 43, p. 590

* A. M. Gorky.—*Ed.*

LETTERS FROM AFAR

Fourth Letter

How to Achieve Peace

I have just (March 12/25) read in the *Neue Züricher Zeitung* (No. 517 of March 24) the following telegraphic dispatch from Berlin:

"It is reported from Sweden that Maxim Gorky has sent the government and the Executive Committee greetings couched in enthusiastic terms. He greets the people's victory over the lords of reaction and calls upon all Russia's sons to help erect the edifice of the new Russian state. At the same time he urges the government to crown the cause of emancipation by concluding peace. It must not, he says, be peace at any price; Russia now has less reason than ever to strive for peace at any price.

"It must be a peace that will enable Russia to live in honour among the other nations of the earth. Mankind has shed much blood; the new government would render not only Russia, but all mankind, the greatest service if it succeeded in concluding an early peace."

That is how Maxim Gorky's letter[219] is reported.

It is with deep chagrin that one reads this letter, impregnated through and through with stock philistine prejudices. The author of these lines has had many occasions, in meetings with Gorky in Capri, to warn and reproach him for his political mistakes. Gorky parried these reproaches with his inimitable charming smile and with the ingenuous remark: "I know I am a bad Marxist. And besides, we artists are all somewhat irresponsible." It is not easy to argue against that.

There can be no doubt that Gorky's is an enormous artistic talent which has been, and will be, of great benefit to the world proletarian movement.

But why should Gorky meddle in politics?

In my opinion, Gorky's letter expresses prejudices that are exceedingly widespread not only among the petty bourgeoisie, but also among a section of the workers under its influence. *All* the energies of our Party, all the efforts of the class-conscious workers, must be concentrated on a persistent, persevering, all-round struggle against these prejudices.

The tsarist government began and waged the present war as an *imperialist*, predatory war to rob and strangle weak nations. The government of the Guchkovs and Milyukovs, which is a landlord and capitalist government, is forced to continue, and wants to continue, *this very same kind* of war. To urge that government to conclude a democratic peace is like preaching virtue to brothel keepers.

Let me explain what is meant.

What is imperialism?

In my *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, the manuscript of which was delivered to the Parus Publishers some time before the revolution, was accepted by them and announced in the magazine *Letopis*, I answered this question as follows:

"Imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital is established; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun; in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed" (Chapter VII of the above-mentioned book, the publication of which was announced in *Letopis*, when the censorship still existed, under the title: "Modern Capitalism", by V. Ilyin).

The whole thing hinges on the fact that capital has grown to huge dimensions. Associations of a small number of the biggest capitalists (cartels, syndicates, trusts) manipulate *billions* and divide the whole world among themselves. The world has been *completely* divided up. The war was brought on by the clash of the two most powerful groups of multimillionaires, Anglo-French and German, for the *redivision* of the world.

The Anglo-French group of capitalists wants first to rob Germany, deprive her of her colonies (nearly all of which have already been seized), and then to rob Turkey.

The German group of capitalists wants to seize Turkey for *itself* and to compensate itself for the loss of its colonies by seizing neighbouring small states (Belgium, Serbia, Rumania).

This is the real truth; it is being concealed by all sorts of bourgeois lies about a "liberating", "national" war, a "war for right and justice", and similar jingle with which the capitalists always fool the common people.

Russia is waging this war with foreign money. Russian capital is a *partner* of Anglo-French capital. Russia is waging the war in order to rob Armenia, Turkey, Galicia.

Guchkov, Lvov and Milyukov, our present ministers, are not chance comers. They are the representatives and leaders of the entire landlord and capitalist class. They are *bound* by the interests of capital. The capitalists can no more renounce their interests than a man can lift himself by his bootstraps.

Secondly, Guchkov-Milyukov and Co. are *bound* by Anglo-French capital. They have waged, and are still waging, the war with foreign money. They have borrowed billions, promising to pay *hundreds of millions* in interest *every year*, and to squeeze this *tribute* out of the Russian workers and Russian peasants.

Thirdly, Guchkov-Milyukov and Co. are *bound* to England, France, Italy, Japan and other groups of robber capitalists by direct *treaties* concerning the predatory aims of this war. These treaties were concluded by *Tsar Nicholas II*. Guchkov-Milyukov and Co. took advantage of the workers' struggle against the tsarist monarchy to seize power, and *they have confirmed the treaties* concluded by the tsar.

This was done by the whole of the Guchkov-Milyukov government in a manifesto which the St. Petersburg Telegraph Agency circulated on March 7 (20): "The government [of Guchkov and Milyukov] will faithfully abide by all the treaties that bind us with other powers," says the manifesto. Milyukov, the new Minister for Foreign Affairs, said the *same thing* in his telegram of March 5 (18), 1917 to all Russian representatives abroad.

These are all *secret* treaties, and Milyukov and Co. *refuse* to make them public for two reasons: (1) they fear the people, who are opposed to the predatory war; (2) they are bound

by Anglo-French capital which insists that the treaties remain secret. But every newspaper reader who has followed events knows that these treaties envisage the robbery of China by Japan; of Persia, Armenia, Turkey (especially Constantinople) and Galicia by Russia; of Albania by Italy; of Turkey and the German colonies by France and England, etc.

This is how things stand.

Hence, to urge the Guchkov-Milyukov government to conclude a speedy, honest, democratic and good-neighbourly peace is like the good village priest urging the landlords and the merchants to "walk in the way of God", to love their neighbours and to turn the other cheek. The landlords and merchants listen to these sermons, continue to oppress and rob the people and praise the priest for his ability to console and pacify the "muzhiks".

Exactly the same role is played—consciously or unconsciously—by all those who in the present imperialist war address pious peace appeals to the bourgeois governments. The bourgeois governments either refuse to listen to such appeals and even prohibit them, or they allow them to be made and assure all and sundry that they are only fighting to conclude the speediest and "justest" peace, and that all the blame lies with the enemy. Actually, talking peace *to bourgeois* governments turns out to be *deception of the people*.

The groups of capitalists who have drenched the world in blood for the sake of dividing territories, markets and concessions *cannot* conclude an "honourable" peace. They can conclude only a *shameful* peace, a peace based *on the division of the spoils, on the partition of Turkey and the colonies*.

Moreover, the Guchkov-Milyukov government is in general opposed to peace at the present moment, because the "*only*" "loot" it would get *now* would be Armenia and part of Galicia, whereas it *also* wants to get Constantinople *and* regain from the Germans Poland, which tsarism has always so inhumanly and shamelessly oppressed. Further, the Guchkov-Milyukov government is, in essence, only the agent of Anglo-French capital, which wants to retain the colonies it has wrested from Germany and, *on top of that*, compel Germany to hand back Belgium and part of France. Anglo-French capital helped the Guchkovs and Milyukovs

remove Nicholas II in order that they might help it to "vanquish" Germany.

What, then, is to be done?

To achieve peace (and still more to achieve a really democratic, a really honourable peace), it is necessary that political power be in the hands of *the workers and poorest peasants*, not the landlords and capitalists. The latter represent an insignificant minority of the population, and the capitalists, as everybody knows, are making fantastic profits out of the war.

The workers and poorest peasants are the *vast* majority of the population. They are not making profit out of the war; on the contrary, they are being reduced to ruin and starvation. They are bound neither by capital nor by the treaties between the predatory groups of capitalists; they *can* and sincerely want to end the war.

If political power in Russia were in the hands of the *Soviets* of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, these Soviets, and the *All-Russia Soviet* elected by them, could, and no doubt would, agree to carry out the peace programme which our Party (the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party) outlined as early as October 13, 1915, in No. 47 of its Central Organ, *Sotsial-Demokrat* (then published in Geneva because of the Draconic tsarist censorship).

This programme would probably be the following:

1) The All-Russia Soviet of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies (or the St. Petersburg Soviet temporarily acting for it) would forthwith declare that it is *not* bound by *any* treaties coucluded *either* by the tsarist monarchy *or* by the bourgeois governments.

2) It would forthwith publish *all* these treaties in order to hold up to public shame the predatory aims of the tsarist monarchy and of *all* the bourgeois governments without exception.

3) It would forthwith publicly call upon *all* the belligerent powers to conclude an *immediate armistice*.

4) It would immediately bring to the knowledge of all the people our, the workers' and peasants', *peace terms*:

liberation of *all* colonies;

liberation of *all* dependent, oppressed and unequal nations.

5) It would declare that it expects nothing good from the bourgeois governments and calls upon the workers of all countries to overthrow them and to transfer all political power to Soviets of Workers' Deputies.

6) It would declare that the *capitalist gentry themselves* can repay the billions of debts contracted by the bourgeois governments to wage this criminal, predatory war, and that the workers and peasants *refuse to recognise* these debts. To pay the interest on these loans would mean paying the capitalists *tribute* for many years for having graciously allowed the workers to kill one another in order that the capitalists might divide the spoils.

Workers and peasants!—the Soviet of Workers' Deputies would say—are you willing to pay these gentry, the capitalists, *hundreds of millions* of rubles *every year* for a war waged for the division of the African colonies, Turkey, etc.?

For *these* peace terms the Soviet of Workers' Deputies would, in my opinion, agree to *wage war* against *any* bourgeois government and against *all* the bourgeois governments of the world, because this would really be a just war, because *all* the workers and toilers in *all* countries would *work for its success.*

The German worker now sees that the bellicose monarchy in Russia is being replaced by a *bellicose* republic, a republic of capitalists who want to continue the imperialist war, and who have confirmed the predatory treaties of the tsarist monarchy.

Judge for yourselves, can the German worker trust *such* a republic?

Judge for yourselves, can the war continue, can the capitalist domination continue on earth, if the Russian people, always sustained by the living memories of the great Revolution of 1905, win complete freedom and transfer all political power to the Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies?

Zurich, March 12(25), 1917 *N. Lenin*

First published in 1924 in the journal *The Communist International* No. 3-4

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, pp. 333-39

Электрич.лампочки угольные на 100 свеч. 2

Напильников . . . . . .несколько

Клей синдетикон.

П.п. С.КОСТЫЧЕВ.

Университет, Лаборатория Физиологии Растений.
/в помещении ботанического института/.

Товарищ! Очень прошу Вас во всех тех случаях, когда т. Горький будет обращаться к Вам по подобным вопросам, оказывать ему всевозможное содействие,

Lenin's note on S. P. Kostychev's letter to Gorky of April 22, 1920

если же будут
предложения, то-
гда мы согласны
дать и иного
рода, но
ожидаем сообще-
ния, в чем они
состоят.

Ю. Гуревич

21 IV 1920

From A REPORT OF A LECTURE "THE TASKS OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY IN THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION"[20]

Lenin also attacked Gorky's social-pacifist appeal and deplored the fact that the great writer was indulging in politics and reiterating petty-bourgeois prejudices....

Written on March 16 or 17 (29 or 30), 1917

Published on March 31 and April 2, 1917 in the newspaper *Volksrecht* Nos. 77 and 78

Published in Russian for the first time in 1929 in the magazine *Proletarskaya Revolutsiya* No. 10

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 358

TO A. V. LUNACHARSKY

January 18, 1920

Comrade Lunacharsky,

Recently I had occasion—to my regret and shame, for the first time—to look through the famous Dahl[221] dictionary.

It's a magnificent thing, but then it's a dictionary of *regional* terms, and out of date. Is it not time to produce a dictionary of the *real* Russian language, a dictionary, say, of words used *nowadays* and by the *classics*, from Pushkin to Gorky?

What if 30 scholars were set to work at this, and provided with Red Army rations?

What would be your attitude to this idea?

A dictionary of the classical Russian language?

Without making a noise about it, have a talk with people who know the subject, if it's not too much trouble, and let me know your opinion.

Yours,
Lenin

First published in *Pravda* No. 21, January 21, 1940

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, p. 434

A NOTE TO THE PETROGRAD SOVIET

Comrades,

I earnestly request you, in all cases when Comrade Gorkv approaches you on such matters,[222] to afford him *every* assistance; if there are any obstacles, stumbling-blocks or objections of one kind or another, please let me know what they are.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)

April 22, 1920

First published in 1925 in the book: *K godovshchine smerti V. I. Lenina. 1924 –21 yanvarya—1925*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works* Vol. 44, p. 370

TO M. N. POKROVSKY

May 5, 1920

Comrade Pokrovsky,

Some time ago it happened that I talked with Comrade Lunacharsky about the necessity of publishing a good dictionary of the Russian language. Not like Dahl, but a dictionary for use (and study) by all, a dictionary, so to speak, of the classical, contemporary Russian language (for example, from Pushkin to Gorky, perhaps). Provide about 30 scholars, or as many as are needed, with rations, taking, of course, those who are not suitable for any other work—and let them do the job.

Lunacharsky said that he had been thinking about this already, and that it was either being done or would be done.

Be so kind as to find out whether it is being done, and drop me a line.

Yours,
Lenin

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, p. 447

TO M. N. POKROVSKY

Comrade Pokrovsky,

In Gorky's opinion assistance must be given. Please give me your opinion.*

20/VI. *Lenin*

Written on June 20, 1920
First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 51, p. 219, 5th Russ. ed.

TO B. G. KAPLUN

Comrade Kaplun,

Please give Gorky every assistance in installing fire-fighting equipment on the premises of the Expertise Commission.[223]

Please let me know when and what has been done.

Terrible lot of red-tape, they say.

With communist greetings

20/VI.1920 *V. Ulyanov (Lenin)*

First pubished in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 51, pp. 218-19, 5th Russ. ed.

DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C. R.C.P.(B.) ON MAXIM GORKY'S ARTICLES IN THE JOURNAL *THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL*

I move the following resolution by a *collection of signatures* in the Politbureau:

The Politbureau of the C.C. considers the publication in No. 12 of *The Communist International* of Gorky's *articles*

* This refers to providing proper conditions for research work at the Pulkovo Observatory.—*Ed.*

extremely inappropriate, especially the editorial, as there is not only *nothing* communist about these articles, but a good deal that is *anti*-communist in them.[224] In future *such* articles must on *no account* be published in *The Communist International*.

*Lenin**

Written on July 31, 1920
First published in 1965
in V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*,
Vol. 54, 5th Russ. ed.

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*,
Vol. 42, p. 205

A NOTE TO S. M. MANUCHARYANTS

Please obtain (a set) of *Rabochy Krai* in Iv.-Voznesensk. (Circle of *genuine* proletarian poets.)

Gorky praises { Zhizhin, Artamonov, Semenovsky }

Written on January 28, 1921
First published in 1927
in *Pravda*, No. 17

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*,
5th Russ. ed., Vol. 52, p. 58

From A NOTE TO N. A. SEMASHKO

Comrade Semashko:

(1) I earnestly request you to appoint a special person (preferably a *well-known* physician, with a knowledge of *foreign countries* and *known abroad*) for sending abroad, to Germany (of Tsyurupa, Krestinsky, Osinsky, Kurayev, *Gorky*, *Korolenko* and others). The *utmost skill* should be employed in inquiring, requesting, persuading, and writing to Germany, to help the *sick*, etc.

Do this *most punctiliously*
(thoroughly)...

Written in March,
not before the 16th, 1921
First published in 1932
in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*,
Vol. 45, pp. 97-98

* The draft was also signed by L. D. Trotsky, N. N. Krestinsky and M. I. Kalinin.—*Ed.*

TO Y. A. LITKENS

Comrade Litkens,

I forgot when we met to ask you to check how matters stand with the committee of scholars who are drawing up a dictionary (brief) of the *contemporary* (from Pushkin to Gorky) Russian language.

I long ago, and many times, made arrangements for this with Pokrovsky and Lunacharsky.

Is it being done? What precisely? Find out and send me exact details.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

May 6

Written on May 6, 1921
First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, p. 489

TO Y. A. LITKENS

May 19

Take advantage of Pokrovsky's holiday to begin work on the compiling of a dictionary of the Russian language without burdening him with administrative functions.

(1) Appoint a committee of 3-5 of the best philologists. They should within two weeks draw up a plan and the composition of the final committee (to [define] the work, its nature, time limits, etc.).

(2) The task is a brief dictionary of the Russian language, from Pushkin to Gorky (the *small* "Larousse" as a model). Model, and contemporary. With the new orthog raphy.

(3) On the basis of their report (of the 3-5), some *scientific academic* centre must *endorse* the plan. Then we shall begin by the autumn.

Written on May 19, 1921
First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, p. 494

From A LETTER

TO Y. KH. LUTOVINOV

May 30

...5) Grzhebin. About him, and *only* about him, I read yesterday the protest you and Stomonyakov sent in to the C.C. We shall examine it at the earliest sitting.

We in the C.C. have had our differences over Grzhebin. Some said: he should be removed altogether, because he might be cheating as a publisher. Others said: as a publisher he will publish at a lower cost. We prefer to have him cheat us out of 10,000, but put out the cheaper and better publication.

A commission of both sides equally represented was elected. I was not on it, because of my "partiality" (some said) to Gorky, who defended Grzhebin.

The commission decided the case *unanimously*. I don t remember what it decided exactly. I think it was to buy from Grzhebin if it was cheaper.

Consequently, your conclusion: "they were not guided by state considerations", but were trying to pacify Gorky—is a downright untruth. And you write: "I am sure"!!! What do you call it when the people work out a "conviction" for themselves before checking on the facts, which are easily checked?

Written on May 30, 1921
First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 45, pp. 162-63

A NOTE TO I. A. TEODOROVICH

Gorky has submitted a project for a *Famine Relief Commission*.

Get it from Rykov in a quarter of an hour, after he has read it.

We shall decide tomorrow at the Politbureau. Arrange

over the phone with Molotov to let you have 5 minutes tomorrow.

Personally I think our draft and Gorky's could be united.

Written on July 28, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 53, p. 4, 5th Russ. ed.

TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C R.C.P.(B.)

To Comrade *Molotov* for circulation among Politbureau members.

Krestinsky writes me that Gorky has left Riga without any money at all and is looking forward to receiving from Stomonyakov royalties for the publication of his books. Krestinsky believes that Gorky should be included among the comrades receiving treatment abroad at the expense of the Party or the Council. I suggest that the Politbureau should pass a proposal that Krestinsky should include Gorky among such comrades and see to it that he has all the money he needs for the necessary treatment.

Lenin

Written on December 12, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 45, pp. 405 06

From A NOTE TO N. P. GORBUNOV

Please speak to Krasin *about Gorky* and see that Gorky gets the money quickly.

If there is the slightest friction, let me know.[225]

23/II.

Lenin

Written on February 23, 1922
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 54, p. 181, 5th Russ. ed.

TO N. I. BUKHARIN

September 7, 1922

Comrade Bukharin:

I have read (in *Sotsialistichesky Vestnik*) Gorky's vile letter.[226] At first I thought of attacking him in the press (over the S.R.s), but then decided that this would be too much. Let us consult about this. Perhaps you see him now and then and talk with him? Please, write me your opinion. I have seen few newspapers (almost no foreign ones). This means that I have scant knowledge of the "situation". Write me your opinion in the greatest possible detail.

Best regards from all of us to your wife and yourself.

Yours,
Lenin

P.S. I am almost well.

P.P.S. I am writing to *Krestinsky* to get me the *original* of Gorky's letter published in *Sotsialistichesky Vestnik* of 20/VII. 1922.

If he forgets, will you send it along.

First published in 1965 in V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 54, 5th Russ. ed.

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 45, p. 564

N. K. KRUPSKAYA TO A. M. GORKY

28/I.1924

Dear Alexei Maximovich,

We buried Vladimir Ilyich yesterday.

Till his very death he was the same he had always been—a man of immense willpower, self-mastery, laughing and joking on the very threshold of death, full of tender care for others. For example, Sunday evening the eye doctor, Professor Averbach, visited V. I. Some time later, after having said goodbye, he came in to see whether he was being fed.

We had a talk over the newspaper, which we read every day.

Once he got very upset when he read in the paper that you were ill. He kept asking anxiously: "What, what?"

In the evenings I read to him books which he had selected from parcels that came from town. He selected your book *My Universities*. First he asked me to read to him about Korolenko, then *My Universities*. And then. In Guilbeaux's book he found a reference to your article about Lenin for the year '18[227] published in *The Communist International* and asked me to read the article to him again. When I read it to him he listened with deep attention.

I send you my love, Alexei Maximovich, and wish you strength and good health. Please take care of yourself.

N. Krupskaya

First published in the magazine *Oktyabr*, 1941, No. 6

Printed from a photocopy (A. M. Gorky archives)

N. K. KRUPSKAYA TO A. M. GORKY

25/V.30

Dear Alexei Maximovich,

I cannot tell you how glad I was to receive your letter. You know, Vladimir Ilyich was very fond of you, and therefore your opinion is especially dear to me. I get an odd feeling when I write my reminiscences. On the one hand, it seems to me that I must tell the workers and young people everything I remember about Ilyich, but sometimes a feeling stirs in me that Ilyich, maybe, would not be pleased with my reminiscences—he spoke so little about himself. When you arrived I was strongly tempted to talk with you about Ilyich, and just have a good cry in your presence, the presence of a man with whom Ilyich spoke about himself more than he did with anyone else. But to tell the truth, I felt shy, and, besides, *it seemed to me that there was something in me you did not like*. And now, reading your letter, I felt a weight lifted from my heart. I was particularly glad that my reminiscences had evoked some of your own about Ilyich. I have read them over and over again. And I kept recalling—I wrote you about it once—how Ilyich, during the last month of his life, got out the book in which you wrote about him and made me read

out to him your article. I can see Ilyich's face before my eyes, the way he listened, gazing out of the window—summing up his life and thinking of you. I am sending you a book I wrote this winter, *What Lenin Said About the Kolkhozes*—I rewrote it many times, sent it to a commune in the Ryazan Gubernia and to a women's active in a Kaluga village to be discussed, but I haven't the courage now to reread it; maybe I have not written it the way I should. So there.

How is your health, Alexei Maximovich?

I wish you all the very very best. Maria Ilyinichna sends you her regards, she is in poor health and works very hard at the Lenin Institute. Perhaps you will drop me a line when you have the time.

N. Krupskaya

First published in the magazine *Oktyabr*, 1941, No. 6

Printed from the magazine text

III

A. M. GORKY ABOUT V. I. LENIN

From A LETTER TO I. P. LADYZHNIKOV

Dear Ivan Pavlovich,

I have already given my consent for an arbitral board.[228] I consulted Nikitich and Ilyich on this matter and they were to have informed you of it. Naturally, in this case every step should be taken not to leave any trump-cards in the hands of the bourgeois.

It was decided that I should meet Parvus personally, I or Ilyich, but up till now I have not found the time for it. We wanted to demand of him immediate transfer to us of all the powers, under the agreement with me, which he is still enjoying.

Par[vus]'s political career here, according to his comrades of the minority, is finished....

Written in the second half of December 1905

Printed from M. Gorky, *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 401

From A LETTER TO I. P. LADYZHNIKOV

The Sosnovsky couple have been arrested in Kuokkala. Do you think it's Ilyich?[229] I am very much afraid it is!...

Written not later than December 6, 1907

Printed from M. Gorky, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 38

From A LETTER TO A. V. LUNACHARSKY

In this business of getting Ilyich out to Capri you must help me—you and Al[exander] Alex[androvich]. It's time the latter, too, should be sitting in a quiet place.

Were he to do this, the *Red Star*[230] would glow more brightly than ever—what do you think?

I shall invite both of them to the island, invite them insistently, for I expect good results from this meeting for everybody—and especially for myself! I wish it were! Getting together, having a talk, thinking things over, writing—doesn't this appeal to you?

By the way, our people are planning a literary and scientific collection,[231] with Veresayev as literary editor and I. I. Skvortsov for the publicist section. Contributors: A. A. Bogdanov, Bazarov, Rozhkov, Ilyich, Pokrovsky and others. They wrote to you about this....

I am writing to Ilyich c/o *Raduga*.[232] If you find out his address let me know. But write in a legible hand!

Written in January 1908
First published in part in 1958 in *V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gorky*, 1st ed.

Printed from the original (C.P.A. I.M.L. of the C.C. C.P.S.U.)

From A LETTER TO I. P. LADYZHNIKOV

Lunacharsky is coming here to Capri; we are inviting Ilyich and Bogdanov; I think by the spring they will all come together. It would be a good thing then if you dropped in....

Written early in January 1908
First published in 1958 in *V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gorky*, 1st ed.

Printed from the book *A. M. Gorky Archives*, Vol. VII, Moscow, Goslitizdat, 1959, p. 173

TO A. V. LUNACHARSKY

Dear A. V.,

Lenin's words, marked off with a pencil, are the most weighty argument in favour of the need for a meeting.

It's either a meeting, or else we shall run into a morass of new divergences, misunderstandings, and so on.

Ilyich, at any rate, is already in it, I believe!

Written in January 1908
First published in 1958 in *V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gorky*, 1st ed.

Printed from the original (C.P.A. I.M.L. of the C.C. C.P.S.U.)

From A LETTER TO A. V. LUNACHARSKY

Today is a good day: a letter from Ilyich, he is coming here....

Written in January 1908
First published in 1958 in *V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gorky*, 1st ed.

Printed from the original (A. M. Gorky archives)

From A LETTER TO I. P. LADYZHNIKOV

Lunacharsky is here already. He and I plan to arrange a little literary meeting[233] for combining action and exchanging ideas. We are trying to get Ilyich, Bogdanov and Bazarov out. We are thinking about Trotsky and about reform of Znaniye collections—heaps of projects!

Lunacharsky will write a history of Russian literature—you can't imagine how glad I am about it! I have ordered twenty poods of books for him.

I have designs on Ilyich too. If he agrees with me I shall order twenty poods of books for him in each language, Japanese included!

Written at the end of January 1908
First published in 1958 in *V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gorky*, 1st ed.

Printed from the book *A. M. Gorky Archives*, Vol. VII, p. 173

From A LETTER TO N. Y. BURENIN

My dear,

If you have the slightest chance of coming out here I would ask you to do so. Your stay here will not affect your health, and it will cheer you up. I urge you to come most persistently, my motives cannot be explained in a letter. Maybe this fact will tell you something—I have many guests here, among them Ilyich, the author of *Empiriomonism*,[234] Lunacharsky and Bazarov. They would all very much like to see you. So, my dear friend, if, as I say, you have the slightest chance you must come out here....

Written between 10th and 16th of April, 1908
First published in 1958 in *V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gorky*, 1st ed.

Printed from the original (A. M. Gorky archives)

From A LETTER TO A. N. TIKHONOV

Martov's brochure *Saviours or Abolishers* subtitled "Who Destroyed the R.S.D.L.P. and How" has come out.

This is a savage, crazy and unscrupulous attack against Lenin and the Bolsheviks, something out of the ordinary even in existing mores....

Written not earlier than September 1911

Printed from the original (A. M. Gorky archives)

First published in 1958 in *V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gorky*, 1st ed.

From A LETTER TO M. N. POKROVSKY

Dear Mikhail Nikolayevich,

Yes, Ilyinsky's brochure[235] is really excellent and I quite agree with you that it should be published in full, but separately from the series.[236] The author will be sent his fee in a day or two. I am glad to hear that the work on the other brochures is going briskly and that we shall soon be able to put them out all together. The need for serious books is very great. But what about Austro-Hungary? I am afraid you will be slightly aggrieved at my attitude towards the second part of this brochure, but you yourself admit its shortcomings. And you, too, would probably like to see the work more perfect.[237]

What a splendid worker Ilyinsky is, what a wise head, how badly we need that wonderful man here, at home! He. You. You cannot imagine how keenly the shortage of serious people is felt here—it is beginning to assume disastrous dimensions. The old people are leaving one after another, and the numbers of cultured, social-minded people are dwindling....

Written on September 29, 1916

Printed from a photocopy (A. M. Gorky archives)

Published in part in the journal *Voprosy Literatury*, 1959, No. 3

From A LETTER TO M. N. POKROVSKY

Mod[ern] Capitalism[238] has gone to the printers. We are sending the author his fee. I recently sent him 500 rubles through his sister[239]....

Written on October 25, 1916

First published in 1961 in *V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gorky*, 2nd ed.

Printed from a photocopy (A. M. Gorky archives)

From THE APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE AND TO THE WORKING INTELLECTUALS

The torch of the Russian revolution, which illumines the whole world, is in the strong hands of Vladimir Lenin....

Appeal read out by A. M. Gorky on November 29, 1918 at a meeting in Petrograd

First published in 1918 in the newspapers *Petrogradskaya Pravda* No. 262, November 30 and *Izvestia* No. 263, December 1

Printed from M. Gorky, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 189

From A SPEECH AT THE ORGANISATIONAL MEETING OF THE SOVIET ENCYCLOPAEDIA PUBLICATION COMMISSION

(From the Minutes)[240]

In deciding the structure of one section we decide also the structure of others: this question must be approached seriously. It is one thing to set forth a concept without concealing the complexity of the question, and another thing to write an article correctly theoretically. I find myself here in a state of doubt, and that, in an editor, is inadmissible. We must have it this way: every section should have a single competent person in charge of it. But we shall be guaranteed success if we have Ilyich as super-editor, who will undertake to do the final touching

up. I shall try to persuade Ilyich that his supervision is essential. Just now we must map out sections and editors.

1919-1921

Printed from N. N. Baturin *Works*, Moscow-Leningrad, Gosizdat, 1930, pp. 618-19

TO M. A. PESHKOV

Maxim,

These men—Gurvich and Idson—must be helped to see Ilyich. Phone him and say that I ask him earnestly to receive delegates from the Petrograd Technological Institute.

A.

Written at the end of March 1920
Published for the first time

Printed from the original (A. M. Gorky archives)

[ON V. I. LENIN]

Comrades, there are men whose significance no human word can do justice to. Russian history, unfortunately, is poor in such men. Western Europe knows them. Christopher Columbus is one of them.... And we can name in Western Europe quite a number of such men—men who seemed to have been playing with some sort of lever, which turned history their own way. In our history such a man for Russia was—I should say, almost was—Peter the Great.

Now such a man, not only for Russia [alone], but for the whole world, for the whole of our planet, is Vladimir Ilyich. I think that no matter how many fine words we speak about him, we can never describe, never define the significance which his work, his energy, his penetrating mind, has for all mankind—and not only for us.

And I don't think, though I am considered a literary artist, that I could find words vivid enough to paint that strong, that thickset, towering figure.

Lenin in politics is great, but he is also a real, down-to-earth, simple man.

And it is about that other Lenin, the man I know personally—a man just as ordinary as any of you, as me—that I should like to say a few words.

In 1907, when I came to the damp city of London, slightly ill, to attend the Party congress, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin came to my hotel to feel whether the mattress was damp, fearing that I would catch a worse cold. That is the Lenin I know, for many an unexpected Lenin....

I know the Lenin who played cards, a game called "Aunty", who loved that game and laughed as only he alone can laugh. At those moments there was nothing in him to excite the wonder of the world. Nothing: just a simple, just a charming, just a warm-hearted ordinary Russian man like any one of us. And suddenly we see such a figure, looking at which, I assure you, though I am of no timorous spirit myself, I feel awestruck. He is indeed an awe-inspiring sight—that great man who, upon this planet of ours, manipulates the lever of history the way he wants.

And this changeover from the simple, charming, cordial man with the magnificent laugh to that towering figure, whose significance can hardly be encompassed, is truly wonderful.

That is what I wanted to tell you about Ilyich, about a man before whom I mentally bend the knee and whom I wish many long years of good health, of that inexhaustible energy which he possesses and everything of the best that this world can give.

I have seen great men, I have known Tolstoi and a few others, but this colossal figure overshadows them....

And it is your good luck, the good luck of the whole country, that this man exists. We must value him highly, we must love him dearly, help him greatly in his great, his worldwide, planetary work. Yes, in his person Russian history has created something that verges on the miraculous.

This man, you must understand, needs nothing but as an historical being he needs your courageous, persistent, intensive work, needs your kindly human love for him.

And the best way in which we can honour his vast work, the best way we can thank him for what he has done not only for Russia, but for all mankind, is by honest work,

by hard work, by love for work—this buoyancy of spirit is what I wish you all from the bottom of my heart.... Those, comrades, are the few words I wanted to tell you. (*Applause.*)

Speech delivered on April 23, 1920 at a meeting at the Moscow Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) on the occasion of V. I. Lenin's 50th birthday

First published in the collection *50-letiye Vladimira Ilyicha Ulyanova-Lenina*, Moscow, 1920

Printed from M. Gorky, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, pp. 204-06

From THE ARTICLE "VLADIMIR ILYICH LENIN"

Sometimes daring imagination, which is an essential quality in a writer, poses to me the question: How does Lenin see the new world?

And there unfolds before me a grandiose picture of the Earth beautifully faceted by the labour of free humanity into a gigantic emerald. All men are rational and each possesses a sense of personal responsibility for everything that is done by him and around him. Everywhere are garden cities, repositories of noble edifices, everywhere the forces of Nature, conquered and organised by man's Reason, work for man, and he himself, at last, is actual master of the elements. His physical energy is no longer spent on coarse, grimy labour, it has become spiritual and its whole power is aimed at probing those basic problems of life over the solution of which human thought has been struggling in vain since olden days, a thought shattered and fragmented by the necessary effort of explaining and justifying the phenomena of social struggle, racked by the tragedy, inevitable in the world of these phenomena, of having to recognise the existence of two irreconcilable principles.

Ennobled technically, and enlightened socially, labour has become a pleasure for man. Reason, that most precious principle in the world, has at last become unshackled, has become truly fearless.

A fearless and sharply penetrating mind in the sphere of politics are the main characteristics of Lenin's nature. Never had the world heard the tongue spoken by the diplomacy inspired by him. It may be a blunt tongue, grating upon the tender ears of tail-coated and dinner-jacketed diplomats, but it is a smashingly truthful tongue. And truth will remain harsh until we, humans, make it beautiful, like our music, which is one of the good truths created by us.

I do not think that I am ascribing to Lenin dreams that are foreign to him, I do not think I am romanticising that man—I cannot imagine him without that beautiful dream of future happiness for all people, of a bright and joyous life. The bigger a man the more daring is his dream.

Lenin is more a man than any of my contemporaries, and although his mind is occupied preeminently with those considerations of politics which the romantic would call "narrowly practical", I am sure that in its rare moments of relaxation that militant mind wends its soaring way into the beautiful future much farther and sees much more than I can imagine. The main aim of Lenin's life is the good for all, and he is bound to espy in the distant ages the end of that great process to whose beginning his entire will is ascetically and courageously dedicated....

Written in 1920

First published in the journal *The Communist International*, 1920, No. 12, columns 1931-1933

Printed from the journal *The Communist International*

From A LETTER TO H. G. WELLS

Allow me, in conclusion, to say a few words to you about Lenin.

The *Times* speaks about the luxury and Asiatic servility by which this man is alleged to be surrounded. That is a lie.

Lenin is a complete stranger to any lust for power. By nature he is a puritan, he lives in the Kremlin as simply and frugally as he did in Paris as an emigrant. He is a very great man and an honest one. He plays in Russia the role

of a huge plough ceaselessly engaged in turning up neglected barren soil....

Written on May 22, 1920
First published in the journal *The Communist International*, 1920, No. 12, column 2206

Printed from the journal *The Communist International*

TO I. G. RUDAKOV

The question of the thousand Red Army men has been submitted by Ilyich today for discussion at the meeting of the Narrow C.P.C. V[ladimir] I[lyich] refused to decide this question on his own authority, but I am sure that it will be decided satisfactorily at the meeting. I will learn of the decision from him after the meeting, that is, today.[241]

Best regards,
A. Peshkov

Written at the end of 1920
First published in *Transactions of the Tartu State University* No. 217, 1968, p. 175

Printed from *Transactions of the Tartu State University*

TO THE DIRECTOR OF THE LENIN INSTITUTE

Dear Lev Borisovich,[242]

All Vladimir Ilyich's letters during the period 1906-13 will be handed over some day to N. N. Krestinsky's secretary and forwarded to Moscow in your name.

I am keeping a little note[243] that is very dear to me. I shall send you a photograph of it tomorrow from Czechoslovakia where I am going tomorrow for treatment.

There are also several letters dating to the years 1918-20 which will be delivered to you by Yekaterina Peshkova in the very near future. They are in Russia, in Petrograd.

With sincere greetings and wishing you all the best.

25.XI.23
Berlin

A. Peshkov

First published in 1968 in the *Scientific Information Bulletin of the C.P.A. I.M.L. of the C.C.C.P.S.U.* No. 14

Printed from the *Bulletin*

From A LETTER TO EL MADANI

I am greatly grieved at Lenin's death, although I expected it, of course. I am writing reminiscences about him. I love that man deeply and for me he has not died. He was a real, big man, in his way an idealist. He was in love with his idea, it was his faith. A very great loss. I do not know how this hiatus will be filled and who will fill it....

Written on January 27, 1924
Published for the first time

Printed from the original
(A. M. Gorky archives)

From A LETTER TO M. F. ANDREYEVA

I have received your very fine letter about Lenin. I have written reminiscences of him,[244] it is said they are not bad. In a few days I shall send them to P[yotr] P[etrovich] to be typewritten, which I ask to be done quickly for they have to be printed in America, France and Russia.

As I wrote tears ran down my cheeks. I did not grieve so much even about Tolstoi. And even now, as I write, my hand trembles. Everyone, absolutely everyone, was thunderstruck by this untimely death. Yekaterina Pavlovna[245] sent me two letters describing the great emotion in Moscow—it is quite unprecedented, evidently. Rozhkov and Desnitsky are publishing a symposium of reminiscences about Ilyich, I have received a telegram from them. Letters are coming in from all sides, full of the most profound, sincere grief.

Only this rotten emigration pours out its invective on a dead man, although it is a poison incapable of infecting healthy blood. I dislike, I despise these émigré dabblers at politics but it is terrifying to see how Russian people have become savage, bestial and stupid when once divorced from their own country. Particularly repugnant are the degenerates Aldanov and Eichenwald. It's a pity they are both Jews.

My heart is very heavy. The helmsman is gone from the ship. I know the crew that remains consists of courageous people who have been well trained by Ilyich. I know they will not lose their way in the heavy storm. But I am afraid

the shifting sands may suck them down, the calm may weary them.

All the same, Rus is talented. As tremendously talented as it is unfortunate.

The departure of Ilyich is her greatest misfortune for a hundred years. Yes, the greatest....

A. P.

Written on February 4, 1924
First published in 1955 in
M. Gorky, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29

M. Gorky, *Letters*, Moscow, p. 145

From A LETTER TO Y. P. PESHKOVA

During the last few days I have received two letters from you in which you spoke about the impressions created by the death of Ilyich. I received all the newspapers too, thanks.

Until Lenin's death I still entertained for the émigrés, for the general mass of them—despite the despicable nature and inanity of the emigrant press—a certain feeling of regret, compassion, and so on. The attitude of emigration to the death of Lenin—an attitude full of venomous, morbidly rabid malice—has cured me completely of those feelings. I don't think that even in the years 1907-10 I experienced anything so abominable as these days, so full of malevolent, bestial jubilation. Never have human stupidity and malice unfolded before me in such grandeur. The things they write, the things they say! Truly these people are merciless towards themselves, to bare their rottenness so cynically. It is very painful to see how rapidly unburied corpses decompose. I shall probably write an article "The Psychology of Convicts".[246]

I have written "Reminiscences of Lenin".[247] They will be published in Tikhonov's magazine....

Written on February 11, 1924
First published in 1958 in
V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gorky, 1st ed.

Printed from the original
(A. M. Gorky archives)

From A LETTER TO F. A. STEPUN

Personally for me this death is another great sorrow. I loved and love Lenin. He is a very big and real Russian man....

Written in February 1924
First published in 1958 in *V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gorky*, 1st ed.

Printed from rough autograph (A. M. Gorky archives)

V. I. LENIN

Vladimir Lenin is dead.

Even in the camp of his enemies there are some who honestly admit: in Lenin the world has lost the man "who embodied genius more strikingly than all the great men of his day".

The German bourgeois newspaper *Prager Tageblatt* published an article about Lenin which was full of respectful amazement for his colossal figure, and ended it with the words:

"Even in death Lenin appears great, unapproachable and awe-inspiring."

It is clear from the tone of this article that it was not prompted by the sort of physiological pleasure, cynically expressed in the aphorism: "The enemy's corpse always smells nice", nor the glad relief which people feel when a big, troublesome person departs from them. No, this article loudly resounds with a man's pride in his fellow man.

The Russian emigrant newspapers had neither the stamina nor the tact to treat Lenin's death with the respect accorded by the bourgeois press to the personality of one of the greatest spokesmen of the love for life who embodied the fearlessness of reason.

His portrait is difficult to paint. Outwardly he is all wrapped in words, as a fish is covered with scales. He was as unaffected and straightforward as everything he said.

His heroism was almost entirely devoid of outward brilliance, his heroism—a phenomenon not rare in Russia—was the modest ascetic dedication of an honest Russian intellectual-revolutionary unshakably convinced that there can be social justice on earth, the heroism of a man who has

renounced all worldly joys for the difficult task of winning happiness for people.

Everything I wrote about him soon after his death was written in a spirit of depression, hurriedly and poorly. There were some things tact would not allow me to mention; and I hope this will be fully understood. This man was far-seeing and wise, and "in great wisdom there is also great sorrow".

He saw far ahead, and when thinking and speaking of people between 1919 and 1921 he often accurately foretold what they would be like within a few years. One was not always inclined to agree with his prophecies, for these were not infrequently discouraging, but it is an unfortunate fact that in due time many people came to fit his sceptical characterisations. My recollections of him, in addition to being poorly written, were without sequence and had some regrettable gaps. I should have begun with the London Congress,[248] with the days when Vladimir Ilyich arose before me in the aura of the doubt and mistrust of some, of the outspoken hostility and even hatred of others.

I can still see the bare walls of the ridiculously shabby wooden church in the suburbs of London, the lancet windows of a small narrow hall much like the class-room of an impoverished school. It was only from the outside that the building resembled a church. The attributes of its use were conspicuously absent inside. The pulpit had even wandered from its customary place in the depths of the hall to the entrance, settling squarely between the two doors.

I had never met Lenin until that year,[249] nor even read him as much as I should have done. I was greatly drawn to him, however, by the little I had read of his writings, and particularly by the delighted accounts of people who were personally acquainted with him. When we were introduced he gripped my hand firmly, probed me with his penetrating eyes, and spoke up jestingly in the tone of an old friend:

"How good that you've come! You're fond of a fight, aren't you? Well, here there's going to be a big scrap."

I had not imagined him that way. I felt there was something missing in him. His *r*'s were guttural, and he stood with his thumbs shoved into the armholes of his waistcoat. He was too plain, there was nothing of "the leader" in him. I am a writer and my job is to take note of details. This has become a habit, sometimes even an annoying one.

When I was led up to G. V. Plekhanov, he stood eyeing me sternly with folded arms, with an air of boredom, like a weary teacher looking at yet another new pupil. All he said was the usual: "I'm an admirer of your talent." Apart from this he said nothing my memory could cling to. Neither he nor I had the slightest inclination for a "heart to heart" chat throughout the Congress.

But the bald, *r*-rolling, strong, thickset man who kept rubbing his Socratic brow with one hand and jerking mine with the other began to talk at once, with beaming eyes, of the shortcomings of my book *Mother* which he had, it appeared, read in the manuscript borrowed from I. P. Ladyzhnikov. I explained that I had written that book in a hurry, but did not manage to tell him why, for he nodded understandingly and gave the reason himself: it was good I had been in a hurry, for that book was an urgent one; many of the workers had been caught up in the revolutionary movement unconsciously, spontaneously and would now read *Mother* with great benefit.

"A very timely book!" That was his only, but highly valuable compliment. After which he asked in a business-like tone whether *Mother* had been translated into any foreign languages and to what extent it had been crippled by the Russian and American censors. Told that its author was to be put on trial, he frowned wryly, threw back his head, closed his eyes, and emitted a burst of amazing laughter; this attracted the attention of the workers. Foma Uralsky, I believe, and three other workers came up.

I was in a very festive mood because I was in the midst of three hundred choice Party men who had been sent to the congress, as I was to learn, by 150,000 organised workers, and because I was seeing before me all the Party leaders, veteran revolutionaries: Plekhanov, Axelrod and Deutsch. My festive mood was quite natural, and readers will understand it all the better if they know that in the two years I spent abroad my usual spirits had dropped sharply.

They began to drop in Berlin where I saw practically all the biggest Social-Democratic leaders, and had dined at the home of August Bebel, sitting next to the very fat Singer and being in the company of other, also very prominent people.

It was a large, cosy apartment, where the canary cages were genteelly covered with embroidered doilies, and the backs of armchairs also had embroidered doilies tacked to

them so that no one reclining in those chairs should soil the upholstery with the nape of his head. It was all most dignified and solid, the guests ate their food solemnly and as solemnly wished each other "malzeit".

The word was unfamiliar to me, but I knew "mal" was the French for "bad", and "zeit" was the German for "time", so it meant "a bad time".

Singer called Kautsky "my romantic" twice. Bebel with his eagle beak struck me as a bit smug. We drank Rhine wine and beer; the wine was sour and tepid, the beer was good; the comments on the Russian revolution and the Social-Democratic party were also rather sour and condescending, while the comments on their own German party were very good! By and large, everything was very smug, and one felt that even the chairs were pleased to be weighted down by such highly esteemed fleshy parts of the leaders.

I had a "ticklish" business to settle with the German party: Parvus, one of its prominent members who was eventually to become quite well-known, had been given the power of attorney by Znaniye to collect copyright fees for *The Lower Depths* from the German theatres. He was handed this power of attorney in 1902 at the railway station in Sevastopol where he came illegally. The money he collected was to be distributed in the following manner: twenty per cent of the lump sum was to go to him, twenty-five per cent of the remainder to me, and seventy-five per cent to the S.D. Party fund. Parvus knew the terms, of course, and was actually delighted with them. In the four years the play had made the rounds of all theatres in Germany, and in Berlin alone it was staged more than five hundred times. Parvus collected over 100,000 marks, I believe. But instead of the money he sent Znaniye a letter, addressed to K. P. Pyatnitsky, in which he admitted good-naturedly that he had spent the whole sum on a trip to Italy with a young lady. Since this trip, a very pleasant one I am sure, concerned me to the extent of twenty-five per cent only, I felt I had the right to draw the attention of the C. C. of the German party to the remaining seventy-five. I did it through I. P. Ladyzhnikov. The C. C. viewed Parvus's trip with indifference. Later I heard that Parvus had been demoted in the party, but truth to tell, I would rather they had boxed his ears. Later still, in Paris, I was shown a most beautiful lady and told that she was the one Parvus had made that trip with.

"My dear one," I thought. "So dear."

In Berlin I saw men of letters, artists, patrons of the arts and other people, and they differed from each other only by their degree of smugness and self-admiration.

In the United States I often saw Moris Hillquit who would have liked to be mayor or governor of New York, old man Debs, who growled solitarily and wearily at everyone and everything—he was just out of prison—and many, very many others, but I did not meet a single person who would understand the meaning of the Russian revolution in all its profoundness, and everywhere I felt that it was taken as an "instance in the life of Europe", an ordinary happening in a country where "there was always cholera or a revolution or something" to quote one "handsome lady" who "sympathised with socialism".

It was L. B. Krasin's idea that I should go to America to collect money for the "Bolshevik" fund. V. V. Vorovsky, who knew English well, was supposed to go with me as my secretary and the organiser of my public appearances, but the Party gave him some other assignment and it was N. Y. Burenin, a member of the Central Committee (Bolsheviks) militant group, who went instead. He did not know the language, and began learning it on the way to the United States and when we got there. The Socialist-Revolutionaries displayed a boyishly eager interest in my trip once they learnt what I was going for. Chaikovsky and Zhitlovsky came to see me, when I was still in Finland, with the proposal that I should collect money not for the Bolsheviks but for the "revolution in general". I declined the "revolution in general". And so they sent Babushka[250] and the Americans were confronted by two people who, independently from one another and without meeting each other, proceeded to collect money for, obviously, two different revolutions; the Americans had neither the time nor the desire, of course, to see which was the better and the more reliable investment. I believe Babushka was known to them before, she was given excellent publicity by her American friends, and I was given trouble by the tsarist embassy. Our American comrades also regarded the Russian revolution as a "private and unsuccessful undertaking" and their view of the money I collected at meetings was also somewhat "liberal", so that all in all I collected very little, less than ten thousand dollars. I decided to

"make some money" from the newspapers, but it turned out that America also had its Parvuses. By and large the trip was a failure, but at least I wrote *Mother* while I was there, which explains some of the book's shortcomings.

After that I moved to Italy and settled down in Capri where I immersed myself in Russian newspapers and books—this also caused my spirits to drop very much lower. If an extracted tooth were capable of feeling, it would probably feel as lonesome as I was feeling then. The clown-like nimbleness and swiftness with which some people I knew jumped from one "platform" to the other amazed me extremely.

Some chance revolutionaries arrived from Russia, they were shattered, frightened characters who felt rancorous against themselves and those people who had drawn them into a "hopeless enterprise".

"All is lost," they said. "All has been shattered, exterminated, exiled and imprisoned!"

There was a great deal that was funny but nothing jolly. One guest from Russia, a man of letters and a gifted one too, accused me of playing the role of Luka from *The Lower Depths*: he said that I came, told the young people a lot of comforting words, they believed me and got all the knocks, while I ran away. Another man insisted that I was devoured by "tendentiousness", that I was done for and that I denied the importance of ballet simply because it was an "imperial" ballet. By and large there was much that was funny and stupid, and I often fancied that a foul-smelling dust was blowing from Russia.

And suddenly, as if by magic, here I was at the congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Party. Naturally my mood was festive!

But I rejoiced only till that first session, till the argument broke out over the agenda. The ferociousness of this argument cooled my rapture at once not so much because I felt how sharply the Party was split into the reformers and the revolutionaries—I had known it since 1903—but more by the hostile attitude of the reformers towards V. I. Lenin. It seeped and sputtered through their speeches like water does under high pressure through an old fire hose.

It is not always important what people say, but it is always important how they say it. G. V. Plekhanov, buttoned up into a frock-coat and looking like a protestant preacher, spoke when opening the congress like a scripture teacher,

confident that his statements were incontestable, and his every word was precious as were the pauses between them. With great artistry he strung out his beautifully rounded phrases in the air above the heads of the audience, and when someone among the Bolsheviks spoke in whispers with a comrade, the esteemed orator made a small pause and pierced the man with a look as stabbing as a nail.

Plekhanov loved one of the buttons on his coat more than he did the others; he stroked it caressingly all the time and pressed it during his pauses like a bell button, as if it was really this pressure that interrupted the smooth flow of his speech. At one of the sessions when Plekhanov was intending to answer someone, he folded his arms across his chest and in a loud, scornful voice uttered: "Ha!"

This evoked laughter from the worker Bolsheviks. Plekhanov raised his eyebrows and his cheek turned pale: I say cheek because I was sitting to one side of the rostrum and could only see the orator's face in profile.

Lenin moved about more than anyone else in the Bolshevik seats during Plekhanov's speech at the first session: one minute he shrank as if from cold, the next he expanded as if he were feeling hot, now he tucked his thumbs under his arms somewhere, then he rubbed his chin, tossed his fair head, or whispered something to M. P. Tomsky. And when Plekhanov declared that "there were no revisionists in the party", Lenin doubled up, the bald spot on his head turned red and his shoulders shook in soundless laughter. The workers sitting next to him and behind him also began to smile, and someone from the back of the room demanded in a loud, sullen voice: "And what kind are the ones sitting on the other side?"

Short little Fyodor Dan spoke in the tone of a man to whom genuine truth was a daughter whom he had conceived, reared and was still rearing. He himself, Fyodor Dan, was a perfect embodiment of Karl Marx, while the Bolsheviks were ignoramuses, an indecent lot, which was most clearly obvious from their attitude to the Mensheviks, among whom there were "all the outstanding theoreticians of Marxism", he said.

"You are no Marxists", he said scathingly. "No, you are no Marxists!" And poked at the air to the right of the rostrum with a yellow fist.

One of the workers inquired of him:

"When are you going to have tea with the liberals again?"

I do not remember if Martov spoke at the first session. This amazingly nice man spoke with youthful ardour and he seemed to be especially sensitive to the tragedy of the split and the hurt caused by the contradictions.

His whole body shuddered, he rocked on his feet, convulsively unbuttoned the neck of his starched shirt, waved his arms, and when one of the cuffs, shooting forward from his coat sleeve, covered most of his hand, he raised his arm high and shook it in order to restore the cuff to its lawful place. Martov did not seem to be proving a point, rather he was entreating, imploring: it was imperative to overcome the split, the party was still too weak to break up in two, the workers needed their "freedoms" above all else, the Duma must be given support. At times his first speech sounded almost hysterical, the abundance of words made it incomprehensible, and the orator himself created a painful impression. Towards the end of the speech and unconnected with it, as it were, but in the same "militant" tone, he shouted as passionately against detachments of armed workers and in general against work for the preparation of an armed uprising. I remember well that someone from the Bolshevik seats exclaimed in dismay: "Hear, hear!"

And M. P. Tomsky, I believe, asked:

"Should we chop our hands off perhaps so that Comrade Martov might stop worrying?"

I repeat, I am not sure Martov spoke at the first session, I only mentioned him to illustrate *how* people spoke.

After his speech the workers talked glumly in the anteroom.

"That's Martov for you! And yet he was once an *Iskra* man."

"The comrade intellectuals are moulting, it seems."

Rosa Luxemburg spoke passionately and sharply, splendidly wielding the weapon of irony. Vladimir Ilyich hurriedly mounted the rostrum. His guttural "*r*" made him seem a poor speaker, but within a minute I was as completely engrossed as everyone else. I had never known one could talk of the most intricate political questions so simply. This speaker was no coiner of fine phrases, but presented each word on the palm of his hand, as it were, disclosing its precise meaning with astonishing ease. It would be hard to describe the extraordinary impression he created.

With his hand extended and slightly raised, he seemed to

be weighing every word, sifting the phrases of his adversaries, putting forward weighty arguments against them, with proofs that it was the right and the duty of the working class to travel its own path, not in the rear or even abreast of the liberal bourgeoisie. It was all most extraordinary, pouring forth not so much from him as from the very mainspring of history. The integrity, polish, frankness, and force of his speech, everything about him as he stood on the rostrum blended into a work of art. Everything was in its place. There was nothing superfluous, no embellishments, or if there were, they could not be seen, for his figures of speech were as indispensable as a pair of eyes to a face, or five fingers to a hand.

He spoke less than those before him, but the impression he created was far greater. I was not the only one to feel this, for behind me I heard delighted whispers:

"That's neatly put!"

And so it was, for his every argument revealed itself, unfolded itself by its own internal force.

The Mensheviks took no pains to disguise the fact that they found Lenin's speech obnoxious and his person even more so. The more pointedly he drove home the Party's need to rise to the heights of revolutionary theory in order to test all aspects of its practical work, the more often came the vicious interruptions:

"This congress is no place for philosophy!"

"Don't try to teach us! We're not schoolboys!"

The worst of these hecklers was a big, bearded fellow with the face of a shopkeeper. Bouncing from his seat he kept stuttering.

"Cons-s-spirators... cons-s-spiracy i-is y-your g-game! B-blanquists!"

Rosa Luxemburg, on the other hand, nodded approval to Lenin's words. At one of the later sessions she aptly told the Mensheviks:

"You don't stand for Marxism, you sit on it, even wallow in it."[251]

A hot, angry gust of irritation, irony, and hatred swept the hall. Hundreds of eyes were fixed upon Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, seeing him in different lights. The hostile sallies did not seem to perturb him, he spoke heatedly, but weightily and unruffled. What this outward serenity cost him I was to learn a few days later. It was both strange and painful

to see that the hostility was prompted by the self-evident truth that the Party could clearly see the causes of its differences only from the heights of theory. I had the growing impression that every day of the Congress gave Vladimir Ilyich more and more strength, put him on his mettle, made him more certain; day by day his speeches grew firmer, and the entire Bolshevik section of the Congress was growing harder, more determined. In addition to his speeches, I was moved almost as much by Rosa Luxemburg's splendid hard-hitting speech against the Mensheviks.

In his leisure hours and even moments he was among the workers, questioning them about the pettiest details of their existence.

"What about the women? Isn't the housework too hard for them? Have they time to study or read?"

In Hyde Park several workers who had never seen Lenin before exchanged impressions they had formed of him at the Congress. Characteristically, one of them remarked:

"I don't know.... Perhaps the workers do have someone as clever as he in Europe—Bebel or someone like that. But I don't believe there is another whom I'd like as I liked this one, at first sight!"

To which another added, smiling:

"He's one of us!"

"So is Plekhanov!" someone objected.

"Plekhanov is the teacher, the boss, but Lenin is the comrade and leader!" came an apt answer.

"Plekhanov's frock-coat is a bit embarrassing," remarked a young chap slyly.

On another occasion Vladimir Ilyich was accosted by a worker Menshevik on his way to a restaurant. The young man asked him about something, so that he checked his stride and soon fell behind the others. Reaching the restaurant some five minutes later he commented scowling:

"Strange that such a naive chap should get so far as the Party Congress! He asked for the real reason of our disagreements. 'Well,' I said, 'your comrades want to sit in parliament, while we are sure the working class ought to prepare for battle.' I think he understood me...."

We were a small group dining as always in the same cheap little restaurant. Vladimir Ilyich, I noticed, ate little: an omelette and a scrap of bacon washed down with a mug of thick, dark beer. He obviously did not worry about himself

although his solicitude for the workers was amazing. M. F. Andreyeva was responsible for feeding them and he kept asking her:

"Think our comrades have had enough to eat? No one going hungry? Hm.... Perhaps you'd better make more sandwiches?"

Visiting me at my hotel he began prodding my bed with a worried air.

"What are you doing?"

"Are the sheets aired?"

What did he care what the sheets were like in London, I wondered, and he no doubt noticed my bewildered expression.

"You've got to look after your health."

In autumn 1918 I asked the Sormovo worker Dmitry Pavlov what, in his opinion, was Lenin's outstanding feature.

"Simplicity! He's as simple as the truth," he answered without hesitation, as though reiterating a long-established fact.

A man's subordinates are usually his severest critics, but Lenin's chauffer Ghil, a man who had seen a great deal in his time, had the following to say:

"Lenin—he's a special kind. There's no one else like him! I was driving through heavy traffic on Myasnitskaya, we were barely moving, and I kept blowing my horn afraid somebody would hit us. I was worried. He opened his door, got alongside of me on the running-board at the risk of being knocked off, and began to soothe me: 'There, there, Ghil! Don't let this worry you. Just keep going like everybody else!' I'm an old driver, and am sure nobody would do such a thing, but he!"

It would be difficult to describe the naturalness and flexibility with which all his impressions converged in a single stream of thought.

Like the needle of a compass, his thoughts were always pointing to the class interests of the working people. One evening in London when he had nothing particular to do a group of us visited a music hall, a popular little theatre. Vladimir Ilyich laughed heartily at the clowns and the comic numbers, watched most of the others with indifference, but attentively eyed the scene of a couple of lumberjacks from British Columbia felling a tree. The little stage

had been set as a lumber camp, and two strapping fellows axed through a tree-trunk over a yard thick in a minute.

"That's for the benefit of the audience, of course. They couldn't really work that fast," commented Vladimir Ilyich. "It's obvious, though, that they use axes over there, reducing a lot of good wood to useless chips. That's the cultured British for you!"

He talked about the anarchy of production under the capitalist system, about the enormous percentage of raw materials wasted, and concluded with the regret that no one had yet thought of writing a book about it. The idea was not entirely clear to me, but before I could ask any questions he was off on an engaging account of "eccentricity" as a special form of theatrical art.

"It is a satirical or sceptical attitude to the conventional, a craving to turn it inside out, to twist it a little, and disclose what is illogical in the customary. It's intricate—and interesting."

Discussing the Utopian novel with A. A. Bogdanov-Malinovsky in Capri two years later, he remarked:

"You ought to write a novel for the workers about how the capitalist predators have ravaged the Earth, squandering all its oil, iron, timber, and coal. That would be a useful book, Signor Machist!"

Taking leave of us in London, he assured me that he would go to Capri for a rest.

But before he was ready to go, I saw him again in Paris[252] in a little student's flat of two rooms; it was a student's flat only in size, however, not for its cleanliness and faultless order. Having served tea, Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya went off somewhere, and the two of us remained alone. The Znaniye Publishers was then folding up and I had come to talk to Vladimir Ilyich about the organisation of a new publishing house that would possibly unite all our literary men. I proposed that Vladimir Ilyich, V. V. Vorovsky, and someone else be the editors abroad, and that V. A. Desnitsky-Stroyev represent them in Russia.

I felt it was necessary to write a number of books on the history of Western and Russian literature, books on the history of culture, offering workers extensive factual material for self-education and propaganda.

Vladimir Ilyich quashed that plan, however, pointing to the censorship and the difficulty of organising people; most of them were engaged in practical Party work, and had no time to write. The main and best reason he adduced, I thought, was approximately the following. This was no time for bulky books; these were devoured by the intelligentsia who were clearly retreating from socialism to liberalism and we could not move them from their chosen path. What we needed was a newspaper, pamphlets. It would be good to resume publication of the Znaniye series,[253] but that was impossible in Russia because of the censorship, and impossible here because of transportation difficulties. We had to get scores and hundreds of thousands of leaflets to the people, but such quantities could not be taken into the country illegally. We would have to postpone the organisation of a publishing house until better times.

With his astonishing vitality and lucidity he began to talk of the Duma, of the Cadets who were "ashamed" of being "Octobrists", noting that the "only path before them led to the right". He then adduced a number of proofs that war was near, and "probably not just one war, but a whole series of them". This forecast was soon to be confirmed in the Balkans.

He stood in his usual pose, his thumbs thrust into the armholes of his waistcoat; then he began slowly pacing to and fro in that tiny room, his eyes gleaming through narrowed eyelids.

"War is coming. That's inevitable. The capitalist world has reached the state of putrid ferment, people have begun to swallow the poison of chauvinism and nationalism. I think we shall yet witness an all-European war. The proletariat? I hardly think the proletariat will find the strength to prevent a blood-bath. How could it be done? By a general strike throughout Europe? The workers are not organised well enough for that, nor class-conscious enough. Such a strike would be the beginning of civil war, and we, as realistic politicians, can't bank on such a thing."

Pausing to pat the floor pensively with the sole of his shoe, he added moodily:

"The proletariat will suffer terribly, of course, that is its fate for the time being. But its enemies will enfeeble one another; that too is inevitable."

He came up to me. "Just think of it!" he spoke with an air of surprise, forcefully, but quietly. "Think of what the satiated are driving the hungry to slaughter one another for? Can you think of a crime more idiotic, more revolting? The workers will pay a terrible price for this, but will win out in the end; that is the will of history."

Though he frequently spoke of history I never heard him say anything indicating that he bowed to its will and power as to a fetish.

He got excited when he was speaking. Sitting down at the table he wiped his forehead, took a sip of his cold tea and suddenly asked:

"What was that trouble you were in in America? I read about it in the newspapers, but how did it happen?"

I gave him a brief account of my adventure.

I have never met anyone who could laugh so infectiously as Vladimir Ilyich. It was even strange that this grim realist who so poignantly saw and felt the inevitability of great social tragedies, the man who was unbending and implacable in his hatred for the capitalist world, could laugh so naively, could laugh to tears, barely able to catch his breath. What a strong, sound spirit was needed to laugh like that!

"You're a humorist, aren't you!" he gasped through his laughter. "That's something I'd never have expected. It's awfully funny...."

Wiping his eyes, he smiled gently and remarked in a serious vein:

"It's good you can see the funny side of your setbacks. A sense of humour is a splendid healthy quality. I'm sensitive to humour, though I've no talent for it myself. There's probably as much of it in life as sadness, no less, I'm sure."

I was to call on him again two days later, but the weather deteriorated and I had a hemoptysis attack that compelled me to leave town on the next day.

After Paris we met again in Capri, and I had the queer impression that there were two of Lenin on the island,[254] two in sharply different frames of mind.

The Vladimir Ilyich whom I met on the quayside at once determinedly told me:

"I know, Alexei Maximovich, that you're hoping to reconcile me with the Machists, though my letter has warned you that such a thing is impossible. See that you don't try!"

On our way to my flat and after we arrived there I kept

trying to explain that he was not altogether right, that I had no intention of reconciling philosophical differences which, by the way, I did not understand any too well. Apart from this I had been suspicious of all philosophy from my youth, since it contradicted my "subjective" experience: the world was just beginning, "coming into shape" for me, and philosophy kept cuffing me with its inept and untimely questions:

"Where are you going? What for? Why, do you think?"

Some philosophers indeed curtly commanded:

"Halt!"

In addition, I was already aware that, like a woman, philosophy could be very plain, even ugly, but so cunningly and convincingly arrayed that it could pass for a beauty. This made Vladimir Ilyich laugh.

"That's humour," he said. "But the world 'just beginning, coming into shape'—that's good! Give it some serious thought and starting from there you'll get where you should have got to long ago".

I then remarked that A. A. Bogdanov, A. V. Lunacharsky, and V. A. Bazarov were big men in my eyes, men of superb, all-round education. I had not met their equals in the Party.

"Assuming that's true, what do you deduce?"

"In the final analysis I regard them as men with a common aim, and a common aim, wholeheartedly accepted, ought to eliminate philosophical contradictions...."

"Which means you're still hoping for reconciliation? That's futile!" he assured. "Drive that hope away as far as you can; that's my friendly advice! Plekhanov, too, is a man with the same aim, according to you, but—and let this remain between us—I think he is pursuing an altogether different aim, even if he is a materialist and not a metaphysician."

Our talk ended there. It is hardly necessary to add that I have not set it down word for word, not literally, but I can vouch for the sense of it.

I now saw a Vladimir Ilyich Lenin who was firmer, more unbending than he had been at the London Congress. But there he had been worried; there had been moments when one could plainly perceive that the split in the Party was affecting him deeply.

Here he was serene, frosty and mocking, veering severely away from all talk of a philosophical nature, watchful and

Lenin on Capri at Gorky's, 1908

wary. A. A. Bogdanov, a very likable man, gentle and very fond of Lenin, though a little self-opinionated, had to listen to some pointed, cutting remarks:

"Schopenhauer said: 'He who thinks clearly expounds things clearly.' That's the best thing he ever said, I think. But you, Comrade Bogdanov, expound things unclearly. Tell me, in two or three phrases, what your 'substitution' offers the working class and why Machism is more revolutionary than Marxism?"

Bogdanov tried to explain, but was really too wordy and hazy.

"Drop it!" advised Vladimir Ilyich. "Someone, I think it was Jaurès, once said: 'I'd rather tell the truth than be a minister'; I would have added: 'or a Machist'."

After which he played an impassioned game of chess with Bogdanov and grew angry when he lost, even sulking rather childishly. This was extraordinary: like his surprising laughter, his childish sulking could not impair the monolithic wholeness of his character.

But there was another Lenin, too, in Capri—the splendid comrade, the cheerful person with a live unflagging interest in everything in the world, with an astonishingly kind approach to people.

When everybody had gone off for a walk late one evening, he had a chat with M. F. Andreyeva and me. His tone was sorrowful, deeply regretful.

"They are intelligent, talented people who have done a great deal for the Party, who could do ten times more, but they won't go with us! They can't. Scores and hundreds like them are broken and crippled by this criminal system."

On another occasion he remarked:

"Lunacharsky will return to the Party; he's less of an individualist than those two. He is a man of rare gifts. I 'have a weakness' for him—what stupid words, damn it! 'A weakness for someone!' I like him, you know, he is an excellent comrade! There is a certain French brilliance in him. His frivolity is also French, the frivolity of his aestheticism."

He made close enquiries about the lives of the Capri fishermen, he wanted to know what they earned, to what extent they were influenced by the priests; he asked about the schools they sent their children to. I was amazed at the range of his interests. Told that one of the priests was the son of a poor

deasant, he immediately wanted to know: how often the peasants sent their children to the religious schools, and whether they returned to serve as priests in their native villages.

"Do you see? If this is not mere chance, it must be Vatican policy.... A very cunning policy!"

I cannot think of another man who towered so high over everyone else, but was able to resist the temptations of ambition and retain a vital interest in the "common people".

He had a magnetic quality that won the hearts and sympathies of the working people. He could not speak Italian, but the fishermen of Capri who had seen Chaliapin and quite a few other prominent Russians intuitively assigned him a special place. There was great charm in his laughter—the hearty laughter of a man who, able though he was to gauge the clumsiness of human stupidity and the cunning capers of the intellect, could take pleasure in the childlike simplicity of the "common people".

"Only an honest man can laugh like that," commented the old fisherman Jiovanni Spadaro.

Rocking in his boat on waves as blue and transparent as the sky, Lenin tried to learn to catch fish "on the finger", i.e., with a line, but no rod. The fishermen had told him to snatch in the line the instant his finger felt the slightest vibration.

"Cosi: drin-drin. Capisci?" they said.

At that moment he hoocked a fish, and hauled it in, crying out with the delight of a child and the excitement of a hunter:

"Aha! Drin-drin!"

The fishermen shouted with laughter, like children too, and nicknamed him Signor Drin-Drin.

Long after Lenin had left, they still kept asking:

"How is Signor Drin-Drin? Are you sure the tsar won't catch him?"

I do not remember whether G. V. Plekhanov came to Capri before or after Vladimir Ilyich.

Several emigrants belonging to the Capri colony—the writer N. Oliger, Lorenz-Metner who had been sentenced to death for organising the uprising in Sochi, Pavel Vigdorchik and, I believe, one or two others, wanted to have a talk with

Plekhanov. He refused them. It was his right to do so—he was ill and he had come for a rest. But Oliger and Lorenz told me he had worded his refusal in a very slighting manner at which both took offence. Oliger, who was highly strung, insisted that Plekhanov had said something about being tired of the "abundance of people who were eager to talk but were incapable of doing anything". When he was staying with me he really did refuse to see anybody from the local colony. Vladimir Ilyich saw everyone. Plekhanov did not ask any questions about anything, he already knew all there was to know and did all the talking himself. With his Russian breadth of talent and his European upbringing, he loved to impress his listeners with a beautifully worded witticism, and it seemed that it was mainly for the sake of witticism that he cruelly underlined the faults of foreign and Russian comrades. His witticisms did not always appear clever to me, and I seem to remember only the poor jokes. For instance, "the immoderately moderate Mehring", "Enrico Ferri, the impostor, for there's not an ounce of metal in him"—the pun here is based on the word ferro, meaning iron. And more of the same sort. His attitude to people in general was condescending; he was not as superior as a divinity, of course, but somewhat like one. I had the profoundest respect for Plekhanov as a singularly gifted writer and the founder of the Party, but I did not like him. He was too much of a "patrician". My judgment may be mistaken. I do not particularly enjoy making mistakes but, like all people, I make them too. But there is no getting away from facts: I rarely met such two different people as G. V. Plekhanov and V. I. Lenin. But it was only natural: one was completing his work of destroying the old world, and the other was already beginning to build a new world.

Life is arranged in such a devilishly artful manner that one must be able to hate in order to sincerely love. The necessity of this spiritual duality which perverts people's souls in the root, this inevitability to love through hatred is cause enough to doom the modern conditions of life to destruction.

I do not know of anyone in Russia, a country where martyrdom was preached as the all-purpose means of saving one's "immortal soul", I have never met anyone who felt such

a deep-rooted and powerful hatred, aversion and contempt for misfortunes, grief and suffering as Lenin did.

These feelings, this hatred of life's dramas and tragedies, made me think even more of Vladimir Lenin, a man born in a country where the most talented scriptures have been written for the glory and sanctification of martyrdom, and where the youth enters life knowing it from books stuffed with really uniform descriptions of everyday petty tragedies. Russian literature is the most pessimistic one in Europe. All our books are written on one and the same subject of how we suffer: in our youth and prime—from lack of sense, from autocratic oppression, from women, from love for our neighbour, and from the unfortunate way the universe has been arranged; and in our old age—from regret over the mistakes we made in life, from losing our teeth, from poor digestion, and from the knowledge that we must die.

Every Russian who has spent a month in prison or a year in exile for "politics" considers it his sacred duty to present Russia with a book of recollections about his sufferings. And till this day it has occurred to no one to invent a book about the joys he had known all his life. And since Russians are used to inventing a life for themselves and are no good at making it work, it is quite probable that a book about happiness would teach them how to invent such a life.

What I hold as exceptionally great in Lenin is this irreconcilable, unquenchable animosity against misfortunes, and his fervent belief that misfortune is not an irremovable basis of existence but an abomination that people must and can sweep out of their way.

I would call this basic trait of his character the militant optimism of a materialist. It was this trait that attracted my soul to this man particularly—a Man with a capital M.

In 1917-18 my relations with Lenin were not as I would have liked them to be, but they could not have been different from what they were.

Lenin was a politician. He possessed that precisely trained, straight vision which was of essential importance for the helmsman of a ship as huge and cumbersome as leaden, peasant Russia.

And I have a physical aversion to politics. I have little faith in the reason of the masses in general, and in the

reason of the peasant masses in particular. Reason that has not been organised by an idea is not yet a creative force. The reason of the masses is devoid of idea and will be until they realise that a community of interests exists between all their units or members.

For millenniums the life of the masses has been a continual striving for a better lot, but this striving created predators from their own midst who then enslaved the masses and fed on their blood, and that's how it will be until the masses realise that there is just one power in the world that can deliver them from the clutches of the predators, and this is—the power of Lenin's truth.

When Lenin returned to Russia in 1917 and published his "theses", I thought that he was thereby laying on the altar of the Russian peasantry the whole of the numerically negligible but heroic army of politically educated workers and the whole of the genuinely revolutionary intelligentsia. This sole active force in Russia would be thrown like a handful of salt into the flat, stagnant pool of the rural world and become dissolved there without a trace, changing nothing in either the spirit, the life or the history of the Russian people.

From my point of view, scientific, technical, and generally qualified intelligentsia is revolutionary in its very essence, and together with the workers', socialist intelligentsia it appeared to me to be the most precious force accumulated by Russia. In the Russia of 1917 I saw no other force capable of taking power and organising the peasantry. But these forces, small in number and disunited by contradictions, could play the role assigned to them only provided there was solid unity within their ranks. They were faced with a titanic task: to get the anarchism of the village under control, cultivate the peasants' willpower, teach them how to do their work intelligently, transform their farms for them, and thereby quickly push the country forward. All this was attainable only on condition that rural instincts were subordinated to organised urban reason. I considered it to be the first and foremost task of the revolution to create conditions that would facilitate the growth of the country's cultural forces. With this aim in view, I proposed starting a workers' school in Capri during the years of reaction, 1907-13, I did all I was able to raise the spirits of the workers.

A "Free Association for the Development and Dissemination of Positive Sciences" was organised in the spring of

1917, immediately after the February revolution. The aim of this enterprise was, on the one hand, to set up research institutes in Russia, and, on the other, to regularly popularise scientific and technical knowledge among the workers on a broad scale. The association was headed by prominent scientists, members of the Russian Academy of Sciences V. A. Steklov, L. A. Chugayev, Academician Fersman, S. P. Kostychev, A. A. Petrovsky, and others. Funds were actively collected, and S. P. Kostychev was already looking for a place where a zoology-and-botany research institute might be located.

For greater clarity I must say that all my life I was oppressed by the fact that the illiterate village had such an overwhelming preponderance over the town. I was oppressed by the zoological individualism of the peasantry and its almost complete lack of social emotions. A dictatorship of politically educated workers in close alliance with the scientific and technical intelligentsia was, to my mind, the only possible way out of a difficult situation, particularly aggravated by the war which had rendered the rural world more anarchic still.

I disagreed with the Communists on questions concerning the evaluation of the role of the intelligentsia in the Russian revolution, prepared by this same intelligentsia which also included all the "Bolsheviks" who had educated hundreds of workers in the spirit of social heroism and high intellectuality. The Russian intelligentsia—scientific and technical—has been and will remain for a long time to come the one and only draught horse harnessed into the heavy cart of Russia's history. The reason of the masses, for all the jolts and stimulations it has experienced, still remains a force that wants outside guidance.

That is what I believed thirteen years ago, and that is how mistaken I was. This page of my recollections ought to have been crossed out. But what has been, has been. And besides, "we learn from our mistakes" as Vladimir Ilyich often said. Let this mistake of mine be known to readers. It would be a good thing if it served as a lesson to those who tend to draw hasty conclusions from their own observations.

After a series of acts of the vilest sabotage on the part of some specialists I was naturally compelled to reconsider and did reconsider my attitude to people in science and

engineering. Such re-assessments do not come cheaply, especially in one's old age.

The honest leaders of the people have an inhumanly difficult job. And then the opposition to the revolution headed by Lenin was also organised on a broader and mightier scale. Besides, we must bear in mind that as "civilisation" develops the value of human life obviously drops, which is irrefutably proved by the progress made in the technology of annihilation in modern Europe and the taste cultivated for this business.

But be honest: is it appropriate and not too disgusting of the "moralists" to speak so hypocritically of the bloodthirstiness of the Russian revolution after they had themselves, in all the four years of the disgraceful all-European slaughter, shown no pity for the millions that were being annihilated and had, what is more, done everything to fan this hateful war to a "final victory"? As a result the "cultured nations" ended up beaten, exhausted and turning wild, and victory was won by universal petty-bourgeois stupidity: its tight noose is strangling people till this day.

Much has been said and written about Lenin's cruelty. I shall naturally not permit myself the ridiculous tactlessness of defending him against lies and slander. I know that slander and lies are legitimate methods in the policy of the petty bourgeois, a technique they commonly use in fighting an enemy. Among the great men of the world there is hardly one whom people had not tried to smear with mud. Everyone knows that.

Besides, people in general have a lurking desire not simply to bring down an outstanding person to the level of their own comprehension, but also to try and pull him down to the ground at their own feet, into the sticky, virulent mud which they themselves had created and titled "ordinary life".

One fact I always remember with disgust. A congress of "poor peasants"[255] was held in Petersburg in 1919. Several thousand peasants arrived from Russia's northern gubernias, and hundreds of them were accommodated in the Romanovs' Winter Palace. When the congress closed and the peasants left, it was discovered that they had made a filthy mess not just of the palace bathrooms but also of an enormous number of immensely valuable Sevres, Saxe and oriental vases,

using them for chamber pots. They did it not from necessity—all the toilets in the palace were in perfect order and the plumbing was in good repair. No, in this act of hooliganism they gave vent to their desire to ruin and defame objects of beauty. In the course of two revolutions and one war I observed hundreds of instances of this dark, vindictive urge to smash, cripple, ridicule and defame the beautiful.

It must not be imagined that in describing the behaviour of the "poor peasants" I was prompted by my sceptical attitude to the peasantry. Not at all. I know very well that this morbid desire to muck up the beautiful is also common to some groups of the intelligentsia, for instance to those emigrants who evidently believe that since they are not in Russia there is nothing worthwhile there now.

The malicious urge to ruin objects of rare beauty springs from the same source as the spiteful desire to defame at all costs a person of rare virtue. Anything that is rare and extraordinary is a bother, disrupting the habitual routine and not letting people live the way they like. What they passionately want—if they passionately want anything at all—is certainly not a radical change in their social habits but merely an expansion of these habits. "Don't bother us, just let us live the way we're used to living!" That is the gist of the howls and wails raised by the majority.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin was a man who did "bother" them and who disrupted their customary pattern of life as no one else had been able to do before him.

The hatred of the world bourgeoisie for Lenin is blatantly and disgustingly obvious, and its blue plague-spots are glaringly conspicuous everywhere. This hatred, disgusting though it is, tells us how great and frightening in the eyes of the world bourgeoisie was the figure of Lenin, the inspiration and leader of the proletarians of all countries. Physically he no longer exists, but his voice sounds ever louder and more triumphantly to the working people throughout the world, and there is no corner in it now where this voice would not rouse them to revolution, to struggle for a new life and the creation of a world of equals. Lenin's pupils, the heirs to his strength, are promoting the great cause with increasing confidence and success.

I admired his vividly pronounced love of life and his active hatred of its rottennesses, and I watched with delight the youthful enthusiasm with which he infused everything

he did. His superhuman capacity for work amazed me. His movements were light and quick, and his strong, laconic gestures harmonised well with his speech which was also laconic yet rich in thought. His face of a Mongol cast was lighted up by the sharp eyes of a tireless fighter against lies and misfortune, they shone and twinkled, wrinkling up, winking, smiling ironically, flashing with anger. The sparkle of these eyes made his speech even more fiery and clear.

It sometimes seemed that the irrepressible energy of his spirit was spurting from his eyes in sparks and that his words, charged with this energy, flashed visibly in the air. His speech always gave one a physical sense of unquestionable truth.

The sight of Lenin strolling in the park at Gorki was unusual and strange. His image had become so strongly fused in one's mind with the picture of a man sitting at the end of a long table, competently and cleverly guiding the debates of his comrades, chuckling and looking about him with his glittering, keen-sighted helmsman's eyes; or perhaps standing on the speakers' platform with his head thrown back, hurling clear, distinct words into the hushed crowd, into the eager faces of men, hungry for the truth.

His words always made me think of the cold glitter of metal shavings.

The artistically carved figure of Truth emerged with amazing simplicity from these words.

A challenge excited him, such was his nature, but it was not the self-interested excitement of a gambler. In Lenin it took the shape of that peculiarly ebullient courage which can only be the endowment of a man who has an unshakable faith in his mission, a man profoundly and completely aware of his connection with the world and who understands his role in this chaotic world—that of an enemy of chaos. He put the same eagerness into a game of chess, into looking at the pictures in the "History of Costume", into arguing with his comrades for hours on end, into fishing, walking along the sun-heated stony paths of Capri, and admiring the golden flowers of the woadwaxen or the smudgy-faced children of the fishermen. And in the evening, listening to stories about Russia and the Russian countryside, he would sigh enviously and say:

"How little I know Russia. Simbirsk, Kazan, St. Petersburg and exile—that's about all!"

He loved a joke and laughed with the whole of his body, giving peals of laughter until tears practically poured from his eyes. He could give an infinite range of expression to his curt, typical "Hm-m"—from sarcasm to cautious doubt, and sometimes this "Hm-m" was eloquent with the trenchant humour of a man who is very keen-sighted and familiar with all the devilish absurdities of life.

This thickset, stocky man with a Socratic brow and all-seeing eyes, was in the habit of assuming a strange and slightly comic pose—he would stand with his head thrown back and inclined a bit to one side, and his thumbs tucked under his arms somewhere, inside the armholes of his waistcoat. There was something amazingly endearing and funny in this pose, something cockily triumphant, and in that moment he glowed with pleasure, the great child of this accursed world of ours, a wonderful person who had to sacrifice himself to enmity and hatred for the cause of love.

Before 1918, before that dirty and vile attempt on his life, I never met Lenin in Russia and had never even seen him at a distance. I came to see him when he still had not the full use of his hand and could barely move his wounded neck. In reply to my indignant speech, he said reluctantly, as if the subject bored him:

"A fight is on. What can we do? Each acts any way he can."

We met as friends, but, of course, the piercing, all-seeing eyes of our dear Ilyich regarded me, the "lost sheep", with undisguised pity.

After a few minutes he said hotly:

"Who is not with us, is against us. It's sheer fiction that people can be independent of history. Even if we admit that such people did exist once upon a time, there aren't any now, and cannot be any. They are redundant. Everyone, to the last man, has been drawn into the whirl of reality, more tangled than it has ever been. You say that I oversimplify life, do you? And that this simplification threatens ruin to culture, eh?"

And then his characteristic, ironic "Hm-m...."

His sharp look grew sharper still, and he resumed in a deeper voice:

"Well, and millions of peasants carrying rifles—is that not a menace to culture? No? Do you imagine the Constituent Assembly would have coped with their anarchism? You who raise so much noise about the anarchism of the peasant world should be able to appreciate our work better than anyone else. The Russian masses must be shown something very simple, something they can grasp with their intellect. Soviets and communism—that's simple.

"You want an alliance between the workers and the intelligentsia, do you? That wouldn't be a bad thing. Tell the intellectuals to come over to us. According to you, they are sincerely serving the interests of justice, aren't they? Then what's the matter? They're welcome to come to us: it was we who took upon ourselves the colossal task of getting the people up on their feet and of telling the world the whole truth about life, and it's we who are showing the peoples the straight road to a human existence, the way out of slavery, poverty and humiliation".

He chuckled and said without rancour:

"It's for that I got the bullet from the intellectuals."

And when the temperature of our conversation was dropping to normal, he said with vexation and sorrow:

"I'm not saying that the intellectuals are not necessary to us, am I? But you can see for yourself how hostile they feel towards us, how little they understand the demands of the moment. They can't even see that without us they're powerless, they'll never reach the masses. It will be their fault if we break too many pots."

Our conversation came round to this subject practically every time we met. And although in words his attitude to the intellectuals remained mistrustful and hostile, in fact he always gave its due to the importance of intellectual energy in the process of revolution and seemed to agree that, actually, revolution meant an explosion of this energy which had found no opportunity for natural development in the cramped conditions that had outlived themselves.

I remember once calling on him in company with three Academy members.[256] We talked about the need to re-organise one of the educational establishments in St. Petersburg.

"That's different," Lenin said with satisfaction after seeing the scholars off. "These are a clever lot. Everything with them is simple and precisely worded, you can see at once that these people know what they want. It's sheer pleasure

working with people like that. The one I liked especially was...." he named one of the most prominent Russian scientists.

The next day he rang me up to ask: "Ask S. if he will work with us."

When S. accepted the proposal, Lenin was really delighted, and rubbing his hands said in glee:

"That's the way, we'll pull all the Russian and European Archimedeses over to our side, one by one, and then the world will turn over, whether it likes it or not!"

At the Eighth Party Congress, N. I. Bukharin said in passing:

"The nation means the bourgeoisie together with the proletariat. Recognising the despicable bourgeoisie's right to self-determination is simply preposterous."

"I beg your pardon," Lenin objected. "It is not, considering the present state of affairs. You have referred to the process of the proletariat's differentiation from the bourgeoisie, but we have yet to see how it will go."

Using Germany as an example to show how slow and difficult this process was to develop and remarking that "communism cannot be introduced forcibly", Lenin then gave his opinion of the role of the intelligentsia in industry, the armed forces and co-operation. I am quoting the following from the *Izvestia*[257] report on the debates at the congress:

"This question must be definitely settled at the forthcoming congress. We can build communism only when the means of bourgeois science and technology have made it more accessible to the masses.

"For this purpose the apparatus must be taken away from the bourgeoisie, and all the specialists must be drawn into the work. Without the bourgeois specialists it will be impossible to raise our production forces. They must be surrounded with an atmosphere of comradely co-operation, with worker commissars and Communists, they have to be put in a position from which they cannot escape, but they must also be given a chance to work better than under the capitalists, because otherwise this strata of society, reared by the bourgeoisie, will refuse to work. You cannot make a whole strata work under the lash. The bourgeois specialists are used to cultured work, they have been promoting it in

the framework of the bourgeois system, in other words they have been enriching the bourgeoisie with huge material enterprises and assigning paltry doses of it to the proletariat. But still, they have been promoting culture—it is their profession to do so. When they see that the working class appreciates culture and, what is more, is helping to introduce it to the masses, they will change their attitude towards us. And then they will be enslaved morally, and not just politically withdrawn from the bourgeoisie. We must draw them into our apparatus, but to achieve this we must also make some sacrifices. The system of petty fault-finding should not be used in the case of these specialists. We have to provide them with the best possible conditions. It will be the best policy. Although we yesterday talked about legalising the petty-bourgeois parties and arrested the Mensheviks and the Left S.R.s today, we nevertheless adhered through all these waverings to one firm line: the counter-revolution must be excised, and the cultural bourgeois apparatus utilised." These remarkable words of the great politician hold much more real and vital sense than all the wails of the impotent and, actually, hypocritical "humanism" of the petty-bourgeois. It is a pity that many of those who ought to have understood and appreciated this call to honest endeavour together with the working class, failed to understand and appreciate it. They chose sabotage and treason.

After the abolition of serfdom, many of the household servants who were servile by nature stayed behind to serve their masters in the same stables where these masters used to flog them.

I often had to speak with Lenin about the cruelty of revolutionary tactics and harshness of life.

"What do you expect?" he would ask in surprise and anger. "Is humaneness possible in a fight as ferocious as this? Is there room for soft-heartedness and magnanimity? We are blockaded by Europe, we have been denied the expected assistance of the European proletariat, the counter-revolution is pouncing on us from all sides, and what are we supposed to do? Mustn't we, don't we have the right to fight, to put up a resistance? Oh no, we are nobody's fools. We know what we want, and no one can do it except us. Do you imagine that I'd be sitting here if I were convinced of the contrary?"

Once, after a heated conversation, he asked me: "What measure do you use to gauge the number of necessary and superfluous hits in a fight?" I could only answer this simple question lyrically. I'm afraid there could be no other answer.

I very often bothered him with requests of various kinds, and sometimes it seemed to me that my soliciting for people evoked in him a feeling of pity for me.

"Don't you think you're busying yourself with trifles, rubbish?" he used to ask me.

But I continued doing what I considered necessary, and the disapproving, angry glances of the man who knew the score against the enemies of the proletariat did not put me off.

He would shake his head sorrowfully and say:

"You are compromising yourself in the eyes of the comrades, the workers."

And I pointed out to him that the comrades, the workers, when in a state of "rising tempers and irritation" were often apt to treat the freedom and life of valuable people too lightly and casually, and this, to my mind, did more than compromise the honest, difficult cause of the revolution by their unnecessary and, sometimes, senseless cruelty: it was objectively detrimental to the cause, because it repelled no few major specialists who might have served this cause.

"Hm-m," Lenin rumbled sceptically, and cited numerous instances of the intellectuals' betrayal of the workers' cause.

"We know," he said, "that many of them betray us and turn traitor not from cowardice alone but also from personal vanity, from fear that they might be a failure, from fear that their pet theory might suffer in its encounter with practice. We are not afraid of that. We don't look upon theory and hypothesis as 'sacramental', for us they're simply tools to work with."

And still, I do not remember Ilyich ever refusing any of my requests. If the promise did not materialise it was never through any fault of his, but probably owing to those "technical defects" in which the clumsy Russian state machine always abounded. The thought is also admissible that someone was spitefully unwilling to make the lot of these valuable people easier, and to save their lives. It may also have been sabotage, for the enemies were as cynical as they were sly. Vindictiveness and spite often act under their own momentum. And, of course, there are always those

perverted manikins morbidly yearning to relish the sufferings of their neighbour.

Once, Lenin showed me a telegram, signed by Ivan Volny, which said: "Arrested again tell them release me."

"I've read his book[258] and liked it very much," Lenin told me. "Now in him I can sense a man, from just those seven words, who understands that mistakes are unavoidable and isn't angry, he's not making an issue of his personal wrongs. And, I believe, it's the third time he's been arrested. I wish you'd advise him to leave that village before he gets killed. They evidently don't like him there. Do tell him. Send him a telegram."

Lenin's readiness to help people whom he regarded as his enemies and the concern he showed for their future really dismayed me sometimes. I remember there was a certain general, a scientist, a chemist he was, over whom hung the threat of execution.

After hearing me out attentively, Lenin said: "Hm-mm.... You say he didn't know his sons had hidden the rifles in his laboratory? There's some sort of romance in this. But let Dzerzhinsky investigate, he has a good scent for the truth."

Several days later Lenin rang me up in Petrograd and told me: "I believe we're going to release your general, or maybe he's been released already. What does he want to make?"

"A homoemulsion...."

"Ah, yes, it's some sort of carbolic acid. All right, let him cook his carbolic acid. You'll tell me if there's anything he needs...."

It embarrassed Lenin to show how glad he was to have saved the man's life, and so he used irony as a screen.

A few days after that he asked me about the general again: "How's your general? All fixed up?"

In 1919, a very beautiful woman walked into the Petersburg public kitchens and imperiously demanded: "I am Princess Ch. Give me a bone for my dogs."

People told me that this woman had decided to jump into the Neva, unable to bear the humiliation and the hunger any longer, but her four dogs, sensing their mistress's tragic intention, ran after her and with their howls and agitation compelled her to give up the idea of suicide.

I related the legend to Lenin. As he listened he kept glancing at me sideways, wrinkling up his eyes, and then, shutting them tight, said glumly: "Even if the story's contrived, it's not badly done. One of the revolution's little jokes."

He fell silent. Then he rose to his feet and began to sort out the papers on his table.

"Yes, it was hard on these people," he said pensively. "History is a stern mother, and it will freely use any means when it comes to retribution. What is there to say? These people are in a bad way. The more clever of them naturally realise that they have been pulled up by the roots and will not grow into the soil again. And they are not satisfied with the thought of being transplanted in Europe. Would they grow into the soil there, d'you think?"

"I don't think they would."

"That means they'll either come with us or will start soliciting for another intervention."

I asked him if he really pitied people or did it only seem so to me.

"I pity the clever ones. And we've few of them. We're a gifted people in the main, but we've lazy brains."

And, remembering some of the comrades who had gotten over their class zoo-psychology and were working with the Bolsheviks", he began to speak about them with an amazing enderness.

A man with a remarkably strong willpower, Lenin was endowed to a superlative degree with qualities common to the finest revolutionary intelligentsia, such as self-limitation which often rose to self-torture, self-crippling, Rakhmetov's nails,[259] denial of art, and the logic of one of Leonid Andreyev's heroes:

"Since people are leading a wretched existence, I too must live wretchedly."[260]

In the hungry harrowing year of 1919 Lenin was ashamed to eat the food sent him by his comrades and by soldiers and peasants in the provinces. When parcels were brought to his uncomfortable flat he would frown, grow confused, and hurry to distribute the flour, sugar and butter among the sick or those of his comrades who were weak from undernourishment. Inviting me to dinner, he remarked:

"I can treat you to some smoked fish sent from Astrakhan."

Wrinkling his Socratic brow, with a sharp slanting glance, he added:

"They keep sending stuff as if I were their master! But how ward this off? To refuse to accept it means hurting someone. And everybody's hungry all around."

Undemanding, a stranger to drinking or smoking, busy at his difficult and complicated work from morning till night, and utterly unable to see to his own needs, he nevertheless kept a sharp eye on the lives of his comrades. One day he sat writing something at his desk.

"Hullo, how are you?" he asked, his pen never leaving the sheet of paper. "I'll be through in a minute. There's a comrade in the provinces who is fed up, apparently tired. We've got to cheer him up. A man's mood is an important thing!"

Once when I dropped in on him in Moscow he asked:

"Have you had dinner?"

"Yes."

"You're not making that up?"

"I've got witnesses—I had dinner in the Kremlin dining-room."

"I've heard the cooking is rotten there."

"Not rotten, but it could be better."

Whereupon he began to question me narrowly: why was the food bad? How could it be improved?

"What's the matter with them?" he fumed. "Couldn't they find a decent cook? People are working themselves to the bone; they've got to be fed good things to make them eat more. I know that there's not enough and the stuff is poor, that's why they need a capable cook." He then cited some hygienist or other on the importance of garnishing food to the processes of digestion and nourishment.

"How do you manage to give any thought to such things?" I asked.

"To rational diets?" he countered, his tone indicating that my question was inept.

An old acquaintance of mine, P. A. Skorokhodov, a man from Sormovo like me, was a gentle soul and once complained of his hard work with the Cheka. To which I observed:

"That's not the job for you, I think. You're not cut out for it."

"Quite right!" he agreed sadly. "I'm not cut out for it at all". But reflecting a little, he went on: "Still, when I re-

member that Ilyich, too, probably has very often to suppress his feelings, I'm ashamed of my weakness".

I have known and still know quite a few workers who have had to clench their teeth and "suppress their feelings"—actually strain their organic "social idealism"—for the triumph of the cause they are serving.

Did Lenin ever have to "suppress his feelings"?

He was concerned with himself too little to talk to anyone about such things and no one was better able to keep secret the storms in his heart. Only once, while caressing someone's children in Gorki, he remarked:

"They will live better than we; many of the things we've had to live through will be unknown to them. Their lives will not be so harsh."

But looking out at the hills where a village nestled, he added pensively:

"I don't envy them, for all that. Our generation has succeeded in doing a job of astounding historical importance. Our harshness arising out of the conditions we have to endure will be understood and justified. It will all be understood, all of it!"

He patted children cautiously, with a fleeting, solicitous touch.

Dropping in on him one day, I saw a volume of *War and Peace* on his desk.

"That's right. Tolstoi! I meant to read the scene of the hunt, but then remembered I had to write to a comrade. I have no time at all to read. It was only last night that I read your little book on Tolstoi."

Smiling with narrowed eyes he stretched luxuriously in his armchair and went on in a lowered tone:

"What a rock, eh? What a giant of humanity! That, my friend, is an artist.... And—do you know what else amazes me? There was no real muzhik in literature before that count came along."

His eyes still glinting narrowly, he turned them upon me:

"Whom could you measure him with in Europe?"

He answered the question himself:

"No one."

Rubbing his hands he laughed, obviously pleased.

I had often noticed his pride in Russia, the Russians, and Russian art. That feature seemed strange, even naive in

him; but then I learned to distinguish the overtones of his deep-rooted, joyous love of the working people.

Watching the fishermen in Capri cautiously disengaging nets mangled by a shark, he observed:

"Our people are livelier on the job."

When I expressed my doubts, he said irritably:

"Hm.... See you don't forget Russia while living on this bit of earth."

V. A. Desnitsky-Stroyev told me that once, travelling with Lenin in Sweden, they sat leafing through a German monograph on Dürer.

The Germans, sharing their compartment, asked them what book it was. And it transpired that they had never heard anything about their great painter. Lenin was nearly delighted, and said boastfully to Desnitsky, repeating the sentence twice:

"They don't know their own greats, and we do!"

Listening to Beethoven's sonatas played by Isai Dobrowein at the home of Y. P. Peshkova in Moscow one evening, Lenin remarked:

"I know of nothing better than the *Appassionata* and could listen to it every day. What astonishing, superhuman music! It always makes me proud, perhaps naively so, to think that people can work such miracles!"

Narrowing his eyes, he smiled rather sadly, adding:

"But I can't listen to music very often, it affects my nerves. I want to say silly things and pat the heads of those who can create such beauty, although they live in a filthy hell. One can't pat anyone on the head nowadays, they might bite your hand off. They ought to be beaten on the head, beaten mercilessly, though we pursue ideals opposed to any violence against people. Hm—what a hellishly difficult job!"

Though on the verge of his illness and utterly exhausted, he wrote the following note to me on August 9, 1921:

"Alexei Maximovich:

"I have sent your letter on to L. B. Kamenev.

"I am so tired that I am unable to do a thing.

"Just think, you have been spitting blood, but refuse to go!! This is truly most shameless and unreasonable on your part.

"In a *good* sanatorium in Europe, you will receive treatment, *and also do three times as much useful work.*

"Really and truly.

"Over here you have neither treatment, nor work—nothing but *hustle.* **Plain empty** *hustle.*

"Go away and recover. I beg you not to be stubborn.

"Yours, *Lenin*"*

For more than a year, with astonishing persistence, he kept urging me to leave Russia, and I could not help wondering how he, so completely engrossed in his work, could remember that someone was sick somewhere and needed a rest?

He wrote letters of the sort just cited to various people, probably scores of them.

I have already mentioned his exceptional attitude to his comrades, his attention to them, penetrating even the unpleasant petty details of their lives. In this special feeling of his, however, I was never able to discern the self-interested solicitude sometimes to be found in the intelligent executive's attitude to his capable and honest subordinates.

His was the truly sincere attention of a real comrade, the affection of an equal for his equals. I know that Vladimir Lenin was incomparably greater than the greatest of his Party, but he did not seem to be aware of this, or rather—did not want to be. He was caustic with people when arguing with them, laughing at them, and even holding them up to biting ridicule. That is all very true.

Yet time and again, when he was discussing the people whom he had buffeted about and ridiculed the day before, I plainly heard a note of sincere astonishment over their talent and moral stability, of respect for their hard persistent work under the hellish conditions of 1918-21, when they laboured surrounded by the spies of all countries and all political parties, amidst conspiracies that ripened like rotting sores on the body of the country exhausted by war. They had worked without rest, had eaten little and poor food, and had lived in a state of constant anxiety.

Lenin himself did not seem to feel the burden of those conditions, the anxieties of a life torn to its foundations by the sanguinary storm of civil strife. Only once, while talking

* See p. 198 of this book.

to M. F. Andreyeva, did anything like complaint, or what she took for a complaint, burst from him:

"But what can we do, my dear Maria Fyodorovna? We've got to keep fighting. That's imperative! You find things hard? Of course! Do you think I don't find things hard, sometimes? Very hard, I can tell you! But look at Dzerzhinsky. See what he looks like! But what can you do? Never mind how hard things are, as long as we win out!"

As for myself, I heard him complain only once:

"What a pity," he said, "that Martov is not with us! What a wonderful comrade he is, what an honest man!"

I remember how long and heartily he laughed when he read somewhere that Martov had said: "There are only two Communists in Russia, Lenin and Kollontai."

Recovering from his laughter he added with a sigh:

"How clever he is! Ah...."

After seeing an economic executive out of his study, he said with the same respect and wonder:

"Have you known him long? He could head a cabinet in any European country."

Rubbing his hands, he added:

"Europe is poorer in talent than we."

I suggested that he visit the chief artillery headquarters with me to look at the invention of one of the Bolsheviks,[261] a former artilleryman. It was a device to correct anti-aircraft fire.

"What do I know of such things?" he said, but went with me just the same. Surrounding the device on a table in a darkish room sat seven grim generals, all of them grey, moustached, and erudite. Lenin's civilian figure seemed lost, imperceptible among them. The inventor proceeded to explain the construction of his device. Listening for a minute or two, Lenin uttered approvingly "Hm" and began to question the man as easily as if he were putting him through an examination on political problems:

"How does the aiming mechanism manage a double task? Couldn't the angle of the gun barrels be synchronised automatically to the findings of the mechanism?"

He also asked about the range and some other things, receiving animated answers from the inventor and the generals. On the next day the inventor related:

"I had told my generals that you intended to come with a comrade, but did not tell them who that comrade was. They

did not recognise Ilyich and probably could not imagine he would turn up so quietly, without ostentation and without a guard. 'Is he a technician, a professor?' they asked. 'Lenin!' They were speechless. 'He didn't look like him,' they said. 'And how did he happen to know our particular field so well? He asked questions like a man technically well informed.' They were mystified. I don't think they really believed he was Lenin...."

On his way back from the artillery headquarters, Lenin kept laughing, saying of the inventor:

"How wrong one can be in sizing up a man! I knew he was a good old comrade, but hardly bright enough to snatch a star from the sky. And that's exactly what he's turned out to be good for. That's excellent! Did you see those generals bristle when I expressed doubts about the practical value of the device? I did it on purpose—to see what they really thought of that clever device of his."

He laughed again, and asked:

"You say he has another invention? Why isn't something done about it? He ought to be busy with nothing else. Ah, if only we could give all those technicians ideal working conditions! Russia would be the most advanced country in the world in twenty-five years!"

I often heard him praise people. He was able to talk in this vein even about those whom it was said he did not like, paying due tribute to their energy.

I was very much surprised to hear Lenin speaking so highly of L. D. Trotsky's organising abilities, and Vladimir Ilyich noticed it.

"Yes, I know, some lies are being spread about my relations with him. What is true is true, and what isn't is not, that I know too. He did manage to organise our military specialists, for one thing."

After a pause he added in a lower, sterner voice: "But still he does not belong. He's with us but he's not one of us. He's ambitious and there's something in him ... something bad, of Lassalle's...."

I heard the words: "He's with us but he's not one of us" twice from Lenin, the second time also about a man of prominence. This man died soon after Lenin. Vladimir Ilyich must have sensed the worth of people well. On entering his office one day I found he had a caller: this man was backing to the door, bowing repeatedly as he went, while

Villa "Bleasus di Maria"
Here Lenin lived in April 1908

Vladimir Ilyich sat writing and never looking up at him.

"D'you know that one?" he asked me, pointing at the door. I replied that I had been to see him once or twice on business connected with Vsemirnaya Literatura.

"And what is your opinion?"

"I might say that he's an ignorant and coarse man."

"Hm-mm.... Rather fawning. And, probably, a swindler. However, it's the first time I set eyes on him, so I may be wrong."

He was not wrong: a few months later the man fully justified Lenin's first impression.

Lenin gave a great deal of thought to people, worried by the fact that:

"Our apparatus is so motley, there are many outsiders who had wormed their way in after the October Revolution. And it's all the fault of your sanctimonious, beloved intelligentsia, it's the effect of its vile sabotage!"

We were taking a walk in the Gorki park when he said this. I don't remember why I had brought up Alexinsky, but I believe he had done something pretty rotten at the time.

"Imagine, I felt a purely physical aversion to him the very first time we met. It was uncontrollable. No one had ever aroused that feeling in me. We had to work together, I did everything to keep myself in check, it was awkward, but I still felt I could not stand the bastard!"

And, shrugging his shoulders in puzzlement, he added, "And yet I could not see through the scoundrel Malinovsky. He's a very dark horse, Malinovsky...."

His attitude to me was that of a strict mentor and kind "solicitous friend".

"You're a curious person," he jested one day. "You seem to be a good realist in literature, but a romanticist where people are concerned. You think everybody is a victim of history, don't you? We know history and say to the victims: 'overthrow the altars, shatter the temples, and drive the gods away!' Yet you would like to convince me that the militant party of the working class is obliged to make the intellectuals comfortable, first and foremost."

I may be mistaken, but I felt that Vladimir Ilyich liked discussing things with me.

He urged nearly always: "Phone me whenever you're around, and we'll get together."

On another occasion he remarked:

"Discussing things with you is always engaging; you've got a wider and greater range of impressions."

He asked me about the sentiments of the intellectuals with special stress on the scientists; A. B. Khalatov and I at that time were working with the Scientists' Welfare Commission. And he was also interested in proletarian literature.

"Do you anticipate anything from it?"

I said I expected a great deal, but felt it was essential to organise a literary college with branches of philology, the foreign languages of East and West, folk-lore, the history of world literature, and a separate department for the history of Russian literature.

"Hm," he reflected, squinting and smiling. "That's very broad and dazzling! I don't mind it being broad, but it's dazzling, too, isn't it! We haven't any professors of our own in this sphere. As for the bourgeois professors, you can imagine what sort of history they'll give us.... No, that's more than we can carry now.... We'll have to wait some three, perhaps five years."

He went on plaintively:

"I've no time at all to read!"

Lenin time and again strongly emphasised the propaganda importance of Demyan Bedny's work, but he also said:

"He's a bit crude. He follows the reader, whereas he ought to be a little ahead."

He distrusted Mayakovsky and was even irritated by him.

"He shouts, makes up some kind of crooked words, and all of it misses the mark, I think,—it misses the mark and is little understandable. It's all so scattered, and difficult to read. He is gifted, you say? And very much so? Hm-mm, we'll live and see! Don't you find that an awful lot of verses are being written? There are whole pages of them in the magazines, and new collections keep appearing nearly every day."

I said that youth's yearning for song was natural in such days, and that mediocre verses, to my mind, were easier to write than good prose. Verses took less time to write, I observed, and in addition we had many good teachers of prosody.

"That verses are easier than prose is something I won't believe. I can't imagine such a thing. I couldn't write two

lines of poetry, no matter what you did to me," he said frowning. "The whole of the old revolutionary literature, as much of it as we have and as there is in Europe, must be made available to the masses."

He was a Russian who had lived away from Russia for a long time and was examining his country attentively—finding it had seemed more vivid, more colourful from afar. He correctly appraised its potential force—the exceptional talent of the people, as yet feebly expressed, unawakened by history, still lame and dreary; but there was talent everywhere, for all that, golden stars spangling the sombre background of fantastic Russian life.

Vladimir Lenin, a real man of this world, has passed away. His death is a painful blow to all who knew him, a very painful blow!

But the black border of death shall but emphasise his importance in the eyes of all the world—the importance of the leader of the working people of the world.

If the clouds of hatred for him, the clouds of lies and slander woven round him were even denser, neither they nor any other forces could dim the torch he has raised in the stifling darkness of the world gone mad.

Never has there been a man who more than he deserves to be remembered by the whole world.

Vladimir Lenin is dead. But the heirs of his mind and will are living. They are alive and working more successfully than anyone on Earth ever worked before.

Written in 1924
Revised in 1930
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Printed from M. Gorky, *Collected Works*, Vol. 17, pp. 5-46

From AN INTERVIEW GIVEN TO THE CORRESPONDENT OF THE NEWSPAPER *ČESKÉ SLOVO*

Lenin was a man of tremendous significance. History alone will be able to appreciate him. He was a great states-

man and a great Man.... I consider it an honour to have been his friend....

First published in the newspaper *České Slovo*, February 12, 1924

Printed from *Letopisi zhizni i tvorchestva A. M. Gorkogo*, 3, p. 362

From A LETTER TO ROMAIN ROLLAND

Yes, dear friend, Lenin's death for me personally is a heavy blow, not to mention that for Russia it is a tremendous, irreplaceable loss. I did not believe he would die so soon....

He was an ascetic, a chaste man. He expended his brain on hatred for life's evils, on a secret, deeply hidden compassion for people. I know that he loved people and not ideas. You know he bent and broke ideas when the interests of the people demanded it. I loved and love him. Loved with anger. Spoke to him sharply, without sparing his feelings. You could speak to him this way as with no one else—he understood what lay behind your words, whatever they may have been.

I loved him most tenderly and deeply for his hatred of suffering, for his indomitable enmity towards everything that distorts the human being. He was a very big Russian man. You have weighed him up correctly.[262] Tolstoi and he are two enormously big men, I am proud to have seen them....

Written on March 3, 1924

First published in 1958 in *V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gorky*, 1st ed.

Printed from the original (A. M. Gorky archives)

From A LETTER TO EL MADANI[263]

To El Madani

Your letter rather surprised me: didn't you know that I had previously written about Lenin as of a great man of this world and true leader of the working people? I had known him long and well and could also compare him with the colossus that Leo Tolstoi was....

I did not only know Lenin, I love him and for me he has not died. He possessed a rare, highly developed and remarkably sincere feeling of *hatred* for men's ills and suffering. I don't think you are able to appreciate *such* a feeling, you do not have it. Now, about the Japanese disaster,[264] you write: "That's just what was needed! One menace less for Russia and China." In my opinion such words are appropriate only in the mouth of a Black Hundred nationalist, or a sick man, a misanthrope. Lenin, of course, could never say or think anything like it. Further, you write: "Even if he had killed twenty thousand times more people...." These, too, are the words either of a madman or of a person brutalised by malice. You must have written them unthinkingly. If human beings are not dear to you, then what is? Strange. If you really do think so, you have no right to speak of Lenin's cruelty, that much is clear. By the way, his cruelty is a legend, created by Party enemies and émigrés. Of course, people were killed in his time; war without killings is impossible, as you know, and he was attacked and defended himself.

"A one-track mind, narrow-mindedness," you write. Pardon me, but that is just your quality—a one-track mind. And I would remind you that it is a quality which is considered a virtue in a revolutionary.

You are mistaken in thinking me, apparently, an anarchist. I never was one and never will be. Anarchism is an expression of despair and impotence in its practice, and fantasy—or a Utopia—in theory.

You probably feed on émigré literature and do not know that 90 per cent of Lenin's "gang of politicians" are workers. You are ill-informed about Russian realities, especially those of the present day. And apparently you fail to understand that Russia today is a country that is working for the whole world, for the purpose of a new organisation of mankind. The strength for this work has been awakened in it by Lenin.

I disagree with your Marxist evaluation of the role of the masses. Alas, we shall be living in an "epoch of leaders" for a long time to come. That is so. Goodbye.

A. Peshkov

15.III.24

Published for the first time

Printed from the original (A. M. Gorky archives)

TO AN UNIDENTIFIED ADDRESSEE

His more than human will has not vanished, it remains on earth embodied in people.

The work he inspired and began cannot be stopped for good, and can hardly even be interrupted for a time. The world had been waiting for this man. The man appeared and showed the way, and people will go that way to the end, having before them the shining image of the deathless leader.

M. Gorky

Written between 1924 and 1927
First published in facsimile in *Pravda*, 1927, No. 17, January 21

Printed from M. Gorky, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 5

From A LETTER TO EL MADANI

You, Madani, have quite unfoundedly taken offence and unfoundedly suspect me of a desire to hurt you. In claiming a right to express your own thoughts in a sharp form you cannot very well deny me that right. *Formally* speaking, your thoughts do coincide with those of the nationalists and Black Hundred people—that is your fault, not mine. I pointed this out to you not through any desire to offend you. I am very well aware who you are, and believe me, I can appreciate men of your type. To be sure, there are irreconcilable differences between us—on the question of appreciation of Lenin's role, of anarchism and some other points, but are not differences between thinking people a natural thing? One of these differences will fall away when you give proper thought to Lenin's cause and see how far he has advanced people along the path of awareness of their *inner* freedom and of destruction of fetishes. Anarchism—well, here I shall agree with you in some 200 years, not before. Snail-paced history keeps lagging behind the Achilles race of personality. And from what I can see, anarchism so far is selecting not the strongest, but merely the most resentful....

Written on April 12, 1924
Published for the first time

Printed from the original (A. M. Gorky archives)

TO M. P. PAVLOVICH

Dear Comrade Pavlovich,

I am greatly touched by the unexpected greeting from the Institute of Oriental Studies,[265] which I hardly deserve.

Of course, I do not think that my role in the making of the Institute was as "great" as you say. You are quite right in your surmise that I had forgotten this fact and do not remember what exactly I had written Vladimir Ilyich about the East.

I had burdened him all too often in those difficult years with all kinds of "affairs"—hydropeat, backward children, an apparatus for controlling anti-aircraft fire, and so forth—magnificent Ilyich invariably called all my projects "fiction and romance". He would screw up that sharp, quizzical eye of his and inquire with a chuckle: "Hm, hm—some more fiction."

But sometimes, though joking, he knew that it was not "fiction". His ability to concretise, his ability to see ideas embodied with his mind's eye was amazing. A lot more will be said and written about this man.

What I wrote about Vladimir Ilyich was a poor attempt.[266] I was too depressed by his death and in too great a hurry to shout out my own private pain at the loss of a man I dearly loved. Yes.

Dear Comrade Pavlovich, convey—if that is possible—to the students of the Institute my greetings and wishes of good cheer and successful work.

Stupendous events are taking place in the East,[267] and although I am not a very great "patriot", I must say I am proud of the fact that "backward" Rus is rousing the East.

Human foibles—I am proud.

All the very best.

A happy New Year to you! Greet the students, too, if that is the done thing.

December 29, 1925 *A. Peshkov*

First published on January 10, 1926 in *Izvestia*

Printed from M. Gorky, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, pp. 452-53

From A LETTER TO K. G. KOLGANOV

Thank you for your friendly letter, Konstantin Georgievich. I am answering your questions.

The October Revolution is indubitably a fact of world-wide significance, and only people who are blinded by class instincts or people who are very stupid can fail to understand this. At one time I was sceptical of the October Revolution, as I was in doubt whether the Bolshevik comrades would be able to cope with the explosion of soldiers' and peasants' anarchy. But the genius of V. Ilyich and his friends was able to do this. And, whatever the enemies of Soviet power may say, Rus has already entered upon the path of a new life and is displaying amazing efforts of creativeness in all spheres of life. Lots of mistakes? "He does not err who does nothing." Our people, in five years, are building on the Volkhov and on the Shatura marshes as much as the old regime had never seen built in 20 years. I know that many foolish and criminal things are being committed, a lot of hooliganism and depravity—but then one must consider the contaminated heredity of the past. All that will be overcome. Naturally, I do not believe that a hundred years hence all Russians will be angels, but I see that they are already now becoming excellent workers and are learning to be real "masters of life"....

Written on September 15, 1926

First published in *Literaturnaya Gazeta* No. 31, July 31, 1968

Printed from a photocopy (A. M. Gorky archives)

From A LETTER TO I. I. SKVORTSOV-STEPANOV

As is known, I did not grasp and did not understand October until the attempt on Ilyich's life. It seems to me now that what prevented me from understanding it was my concern for the fate of the proletariat organised in the party of the Bolsheviks. It seemed to me that Ilyich, by throwing the advanced forces of the workers into the chaos of anarchy, would destroy, scatter them; I believe I was not the only one in 1917 to fear this, as quite a few other Bolshevik

comrades did. I repeat: that's what seems to me *now*, but whether it was so *then* is a thing I cannot assert. I am a man who takes the facts of life emotionally, and not with his reason, and this is a trait that will always be with me.

But already in my youth I developed a sense, or rather feeling, of organic kinship with the working class and have ever since retained a concern for its fate—the concern of the Arab for the spring that gives life to his oasis in the sands of the desert. I am saying this merely to ascertain for myself the causes of my vacillation, which have become vague to me now, and I am saying it not for wide ventilation, but for you, an old comrade....

Written on October 15, 1927

First published in 1958 in *V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gorky*, 1st ed.

Printed from a typewritten copy received from the author's private archives (A. M. Gorky archives)

TO L. S. DANOVSKY

To L. S. Danovsky

Yes, ten years ago I did not think the way I do now. At that time it seemed to me that Lenin was overestimating the strength of the organised proletariat and that the Bolsheviks would not be able to cope with the anarchy created by the war, but on the contrary, would be overwhelmed by that anarchy. In 1918, soon after the attempt on Ilyich's life, I gave up these ideas, as the widespread anger of the workers at this dastardly act showed me that Lenin's ideas had penetrated deep into the minds of the working masses and were organising their forces with amazing speed. I watched the growth and heroic work of these forces up to the end of 1921 in Russia and have been watching them from here now for 6 years.

Now I think that only people who are blinded by fury against the Bolsheviks for their personal failures, people who would like to go back to the dubiously "cultural" life of prewar days, philistines of different shades, people of petty ambitions, and in general they who have had their day and are unfit for life, can fail to recognise the significance of

the great work which the Workers' and Peasants' Government has done during the last decade.

M. Gorky

Written in the first half of November 1927

Printed from M. Gorky, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 45

TO S. V. BRUNELLER[268]

Dear Comrade Bruneller,

I left Russia in November 1921 because I was ill and V. I. Lenin insisted on my going abroad. We had no sanatoriums then in Russia.

Living here I have written 7 books in five years, which I could not have done in Russia.

I have no differences with Soviet power, as you probably know from my articles in the Moscow *Izvestia*.

Regards,

A. Peshkov

23.III.28
Sorrento

Published for the first time in facsimile in the local newspaper *Udarnik*, issued by the Petrovsky Metallurgical Works, Dnepropetrovsk, No. 139, June 20, 1936

Printed from the original (A. M. Gorky archives)

From A LETTER TO L. ANISIMOV (A. K. VORONSKY)[269]

On my long and sinuous path I have met no few sectarian doctrinaires, party leaders, churchmen, editors of journals and generally "teachers of life". And Vladimir Ilyich was the only one who never gave me the impression of being a man "consecrated to ideas". He was always in my eyes a creator of ideas....

Written on March 17, 1928

First published in the magazine *Sibirskiye Ogni* No. 2, 1928

Printed from the original (A. M. Gorky archives)

From THE ARTICLE "ON THE GLORIFIED AND THE 'BEGINNERS'"

"We do not deny the heritage,"[270] he [Lenin] said some thirty-five years ago, and by his whole life, by all his work, he proved that he really denied nothing of value in bourgeois culture. I think that what he prized mostly in it were technics, "craftsmanship" in all spheres of work, and in the field of literature too....

First published in *Izvestia* No. 101, May 1, 1928

Printed from M. Gorky, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 363

From THE ARTICLE "WHITE ÉMIGRÉ LITERATURE"

I have not forgotten my stand of those days [in 1917] ...I was sure that "the people" would sweep away the Bolsheviks together with the entire socialist intelligentsia and, particularly, together with the organised workers. Then the only force capable of saving the country from anarchy and of Europeanising Russia would have been destroyed. Thanks to the more than human energy of Vladimir Lenin and his comrades this did not happen....

Written on April 5, 1928

First published in *Pravda* No. 108, May 11, 1928

Printed from M. Gorky, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 343

From A SPEECH AT A SITTING OF THE PLENUM OF THE MOSCOW SOVIET

MAY 31, 1928

My dear comrades, today I paid a visit on Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.[271] I loved this man as no one else, and I, too, enjoyed his attentions and affection.... I went away when he was still well.... Each one of you knows only too well what it is to have lost this great and splendid man. Needless

to say today's visit upset me profoundly—it is telling on me now, I cannot speak....

First published in *Pravda* No. 126, June 1, 1928

Printed from M. Gorky, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 368

From A SPEECH AT A CEREMONIAL MEETING OF THE MOSCOW CITY COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS *JUNE 5, 1928*[272]

I visited the Mausoleum of Vladimir Ilyich, a man whom I loved and admired, and whose love and attention I enjoyed. When I saw that striking face, the face of a man quietly resting sound asleep after a good job of work my heart smote me with a pain I had never known before. Every one of you, comrades, knows what the untimely departure from life of that magnificent man means to us. I was cruelly upset, sick with impotent anguish and sullen rage at the stupidity of Nature. I was sure that for that day at least I was no good for anything, anywhere, but within several minutes, at the Marx and Engels Institute,[273] seeing the gigantic work done by Ryazanov and his colleagues, I felt that everything I had experienced a few moments ago had gone, had vanished with a speed, which, in other circumstances, would have been shameful. Why had the emotions experienced by me in the Mausoleum been smoothed away so lightly and so quickly? Because, comrades, your energy, your work are that vivifying force which does not allow one's thoughts and feelings to focus on even such tragic facts as the untimely loss of an ideal comrade and great leader, who had given us all the strength of his genius. It means that you, comrades, have well received what Vladimir Ilyich had to give you. It means that you are well charged with the energy of labour and creative effort and that in your midst there is no room for sorrow, even at so great a loss, no room for despondency and there should not be any. It means that the genius of Lenin is really alive in the person of this collective Lenin....

First published in 1958 in *V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gorky*, 1st ed.

Printed from the shorthand record (A. M. Gorky archives)

From THE ARTICLE "THE INDUSTRIALISATION LOAN"

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin knew the history of the past so well that he was able to view the present from the future. I have not made this up for the sake of rhetoric. It is borne out by all his work, by all his articles, especially after the October. He foresaw the inevitability and nearness of the October victory of the workers and peasants as early as in 1907 at the London Congress. Generally he was able as no one else before him to foresee what was bound to happen. He was able to do this, I believe, because half of his great soul lived in the future; his iron but flexible logic showed him the distant future in forms that were perfectly concrete and real. This, in my opinion, explains his remarkable steadfastness in regard to reality, which never dismayed him—however difficult and complex it was—never shook his firm belief that there would come a time when the working class and the peasantry would become, were bound to become, masters all over the world.

Bourgeois philosophers, who instinctively feel knowledge to be hostile to the old familiar order of things, love to show that reason and faith are irreconcilable. Vladimir Ilyich was a man of faith, of faith strengthened by knowledge. His strength was an amazing lucidity of mind. The vast knowledge in which his mind was steeped equipped him with a gift of prophetic foresight into everything which the present day held for the morrow. Today's reality was for him merely material for building the future, and, I repeat, it never in any way dismayed him. He saw and felt around him thousands of makers of new history—the advanced detachments of the working class, educated by his thought and his faith, and capable of rallying behind them the whole mass of workers, capable of wresting the poor peasants from the earth in which they are embedded and setting them upon the broad free path leading to socialist culture. Prior to Vladimir Lenin the working people of our country and of the whole world had no leader.

Every rank-and-file fighting-man of the army of Lenin must acquire the knowledge and faith of his leader. In doing so he will be acquiring steadfast strength and will

become a victorious force. That force is already providing superb examples of creativeness, it is boldly and vigorously laying the foundations of the world's first socialist state of the workers and peasants, and successfully educating for itself comrades and brothers-in-arms all over the world....

This part of the article was first published in *Pravda* No. 178, August 6, 1929

Printed from M. Gorky, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, pp. 377-78

From THE ARTICLE "OUR ACHIEVEMENTS"

Businesslike self-criticism is inevitable, but it should be borne in mind that it is very difficult to combine harmoniously in a single person both critic and creator, a force that is at once active and counter-active. Only Vladimir Lenin's brain could harmoniously combine these two forces, make them work parallel towards a single aim. It is from him that we should learn this art of infringing the laws of physics, and generally of all ancient laws....

Published in *Pravda* and *Izvestia* No. 151, July 1, 1928

Printed from M. Gorky, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 385

From A TALK WITH MOSCOW WORKER CORRESPONDENTS AT THE WORKING WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT OF THE MOSCOW COMMITTEE OF THE R.C.P.(B.)[274]

JUNE 14, 1928

I have been with the Bolsheviks since 1903 and somewhat earlier, and had been working all the time up till the year '17 up till October. In October I disagreed. I had reason for doubting whether the proletariat would win. At that period of anarchism among the mass of the peasantry and among the mass of the urban population, anarchism caused by the war, there was room for such doubt. And then I

witnessed the homegoing of the troops—they were not regulars, the regular troops had all been killed; these were so-called militia. When they were going home I saw what they did. It was a tornado, a cyclone—everything was smashed and torn up, it was hell, and I had misgivings, as did many of my Bolshevik comrades, that this wave would sweep away the only real revolutionary force—the proletariat; sweep it away together with that really revolutionary intelligentsia, the Bolsheviks, who had created that party, which Vladimir Lenin had guided and educated. This set me strongly against. To the best of my ability, I wrote quite bluntly and sincerely that the thing was no damn good. There was another reason that made me argue this way and disagree with the October Revolution. It was that, whatever you may say, as far back as 1898 Vladimir Ilyich wrote in one of his articles[275] that we, that is we the proletariat, are called upon to inherit the property, the spiritual property and cultural heritage that were created by the bourgeois world. They were ours. In the final analysis they were created by the proletariat, created directly by the working class and the peasantry, and we were the natural inheritors of all that wealth. Isn't that so? Well then, when all this began to be spoilt, smashed to smithereens, it was natural to think that we would be left without our heritage. All these considerations set me definitely against the whole thing—not only me, but quite a number of Bolsheviks—old Bolsheviks. But when, after the attempt on Lenin's life, it became clear that Lenin was not only the leader of the Bolsheviks, not only the leader of a certain part of the proletariat which had been educated by this Left-wing revolutionary intelligentsia, but really the leader of the entire masses—you probably remember how the masses reacted to the attempted assassination—then there was no room for doubt that you had won. It was from that moment that my conviction about it being a wrong act was swept away. It was a right act. A daring act, a mad act, which could be taken only by a man who was as far-sighted, as confident and deeply conscious of the strength of the proletariat as Vladimir Ilyich was. Only he could do this, and he actually did it. As I said, when that shot was fired at him and the stunning echo of it reverberated through the land, when the whole country gasped, when the non-party workers—not socialists, but simply non-party workers—gasped at that shot, it was clear then that you had won. Bolshevism

had won. And after that, naturally, I went to Vladimir Ilyich and said: "Well, Vladimir Ilyich, I was mistaken." That's all.

First published in 1958 in *V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gorky*, 1st ed.

Printed from the shorthand record (A. M. Gorky archives)

From A SPEECH IN ANSWER TO GREETINGS

When I first wrote Man with a capital letter, I did not know yet what a great man he was. I had no clear image of him. In 1903 I realised that Man with a capital letter was embodied in the Bolsheviks headed by Lenin, and in 1907 I saw this for myself at the London Congress....

Speech delivered on July 25, 1928

First published in the newspaper *Krasny Voin* (Tiflis), July 27, 1928

Printed from the newspaper text

From THE ARTICLE "TO THE 'MECHANICAL CITIZENS' OF THE USSR"

It was in the Bolsheviks, in Lenin's articles, in the speeches and work of the intellectuals who followed his lead, that I felt true revolutionism. It was to them that I "attached myself" as early as in 1903....

First published in *Pravda* and *Izvestia* No. 234, October 7, 1928

Printed from M. Gorky, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 439

From THE SERIES OF SKETCHES "THROUGH THE SOVIET UNION"

In a vast warehouse containing various materials I saw a man walking about limping, leaning on a stick.

"Who is it?" I asked.

"Our engineer. A fine chap. He has a bad leg, ought to be in bed, but he...."

This solicitude for the health of a valuable worker reminded me of Vladimir Ilyich. His image often rises to my mind on this rich land, where the working class is toiling, asserting its power. People speak and ask about him as if he were here and would still be coming. They want to carve out a head of Lenin, "founder of the state", of the Tyrin Hill on the Djulfa-Baku railway. The thought of him often came to my mind while at the workers' townships of Azneft. If he could see it, what joy it would give him.... I remember coming to see him some days after the defeat of Yudenich. He squeezed my hand hard and laughed, his eyes aglow.

"The workers have given the general a good hiding, eh? To tell you the truth, I didn't think we'd pull it off!"

Here he would have seen that the workers had "pulled off" something much more difficult than a general's raid on the capital of the metal workers....

Written not later than December 1928

First published in the journal *Nashi Dostizheniya* No. 1, 1929

Printed from M. Gorky, *Collected Works*, Vol. 17, pp. 123-24

From A LETTER TO N. K. KRUPSKAYA

Dear Nadezhda Konstantinovna,

I met Vladimir Ilyich in nineteen ten in Paris—in Rue St. Jacque, I believe; I saw you there, too, for the first time, but you soon went away. A day or two later I met him at Fontaine au Rose, in a restaurant, and afterwards we went for a walk. I had come to Paris with a proposal for getting money, but V. I. emphatically turned down my offer and advised me not to have anything to do with that affair, which, by the way, was not started by me. You know how solicitous he was about me. At the time of that visit he did not advise me to see a number of people whom I wanted to meet just out of curiosity....

Written on March 11, 1929

First published in the magazine *Oktyabr*, No. 6, 1941

Printed from the original (A. M. Gorky archives)

From THE ARTICLE "THE WORKING CLASS MUST REAR ITS OWN MASTERS OF CULTURE"

A certain Pankrushin declared that "bélles-léttres are essentially reactionary"....

The working class cannot and should not regard such pundits, who strongly take after wreckers of cultural work, as masters of culture. And we have no few such "wreckers" who hold more or less important key posts in the press, in journalism, etc. These people do not know or have forgotten the quite definite attitude to bélles-léttres on the part of V. I. Lenin, Marx, Engels and many of our Bolsheviks, organisers of the Party, its spiritual leaders. They have also forgotten the May resolution of the Party's Central Committee in 1925[276]....

First published in *Izvestia* No. 168, July 25, 1929

Printed from M. Gorky, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 42

From THE ARTICLE "INDUSTRIALISATION DAY"

The deeper and wider the worker and peasant masses realise the need for equipping the land of the Socialist Soviets with the most perfect techniques, the sooner will the militant behest of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin be fulfilled, namely that of "overtaking and surpassing" the industry of the capitalists of Europe and America[277]....

...Lenin's idea of socialist emulation is one of the greatest ideas of that man, the real leader of the world's masses of working people. Like all his ideas it is simple. It requires but one thing: that the workers make a greater work effort for themselves, for *their* state, where they alone are the masters, that they work better, more conscientiously than they did for the capitalists....

First published under the heading "Fingers of the Powerful Hand of the Working Class" in *Izvestia*, No. 178, August 6, 1929

Printed from M. Gorky, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, pp. 50, 51

From THE ARTICLE "TO THE PIONEERS"

Many famous men of science are called pioneers—Louis Pasteur, the founder of bacteriology, Curie, the discoverer of radium, Professor Dokuchayev, who studied Russian soils and opened the way to a new science—geochemistry. Karl Marx can be called a pioneer—he threw a new light on the whole history of humanity and showed the working people of all the world the only straight road to freedom. Vladimir Lenin, who was first to lead the working class boldly along the road indicated by Marx, can also be called a pioneer....

First published in the magazine *Pioneer*, No. 16, 1929

Printed from M. Gorky, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 63

From THE ARTICLE "ODDS AND ENDS"

There has started in Russia "the most essential business of the age". An attempt is being made to shift life over from the three pillars of Stupidity, Envy and Greed to the foundations of Reason, Justice and Beauty—and this is to the credit of Lenin, a man whose name will forever remain the pride of Russia, a man of whom that greatest idealist of our day, that prince of men, Romain Rolland, said:[278] "Lenin is the greatest man of our age and the most unselfish...."

First published in *Izvestia* No. 301, December 29, 1928

Printed from M. Gorky, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, pp. 501-02

From AN UNTITLED ARTICLE

At the universities where I was taught they did not teach "Manilovism", but that was probably the very reason why I was brought up to be a "soft" person. Ilyich very wittily ridiculed this trait of mine....

Written at the end of the 1920s
First published in 1958 in *V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gorky*, 1st ed.

Printed from the original (A. M. Gorky archives)

From A LETTER TO A. B. KHALATOV

My *Confession* is being published. You know that V. I. Lenin and many comrades censured this book, partly through the fault of the author and partly through a misunderstanding. It should not have been published at a time when a relapse was to be observed in religious moods. If it was to be published at all it should have had as preface Voitolovsky's article which very well explains the "miracle" at the end of the book, and generally my "god-building"....

Written between the end of November and 16th December, 1929

Printed from the original (A. M. Gorky archives)

First published in 1965 in the book *Arkhiv A. M. Gorkogo*, Vol. X, Book I, p. 178

TO N. K. KRUPSKAYA

Dear Nadezhda Konstantinovna,

I have just finished reading your reminiscences of Vladimir Ilyich, such a simple, nice and sad book, which aroused in me a desire to shake your hand from afar, and to thank you for it, and in general say something, and tell you of the emotion evoked by your reminiscences. Incidentally, D. Kursky and Lyubimov came to see me yesterday, and Kursky told me of the work done by Voigt on the structure of Lenin's brain, which set me thinking all night of what a great mind became extinct and what a heart stopped to beat when he died.[278] I recalled with the utmost vividness my visit to Gorki in the summer of, I think, 1920. At that time I stood outside politics, was engrossed by the petty cares of everyday life and complained to V. I. about the pressure of those cares. Among other things, I spoke of the fact that when they pulled down wooden houses for fuel, Leningrad workers were smashing window frames and panes and ruining the iron roofing, whilst their own homes had leaking roofs and they were using veneer boards to patch up their own windows, and things like that. I was indignant at the low estimate the workers had of the products of their own labour. "You think of sweeping plans, and such little things don't reach you," I said. He said nothing in reply as he walked to and fro along the verandah, and I reproached myself for having disturbed him with such trifles. We went for a walk after

tea, and he said to me, "You are mistaken in thinking that I pay no heed to trifles; besides, the underestimation of labour that you have mentioned is no trifle—no, that is no trifle; we are poor people and must realise the value of each billet and each farthing. Much has been destroyed, and we must preserve everything that is left. That is essential for the restoration of our economy. But how can one blame the worker for [not] yet realising that he is the master of all things. That consciousness will not appear so soon; it can appear only in the socialist." Of course, I am not reproducing what he said word for word, but that was the sense. He spoke on the subject for a long time, and I was amazed at the number "of trifles" he noticed and how strikingly simply his thoughts ascended from the smallest phenomena of life to the broadest generalisations. This ability of his, which was developed to a marvellous finesses, always amazed me. I know no other man in whom analysis and synthesis operated so harmoniously. On another occasion I approached him with a proposal to transfer backward children from Leningrad to some distant monastery so as to separate them from the normal children they were adversely influencing. It transpired that V. I. had already given thought to the question and had spoken of it to a comrade. "How do you find the time for all these things?" I asked. "That is a question that arose when I was in London, in Whitechapel," he said. He was a far-sighted man. When we spoke on Capri regarding the literature of those years, he characterised writers of my generation with marvellous accuracy, laying bare their essence with ruthlessness and ease. Then he pointed to some substantial shortcomings in my stories, and reproached me as follows: "You shouldn't split up your life experience in such short stories. It's time to put it all in a single book, some big novel." I told him that I dreamed of writing the history of a single family over the space of a hundred years, beginning with 1813, when Moscow was being rebuilt after the fire, right down to our times. The founder of the family would be a peasant and village elder, who had been freed by his master for his exploits in the partisan movement of 1812. From this family there sprang officials, priests, factory-owners, adherents of Petrashevsky and Nechayev, and men of the seventies and the eighties. He listened most attentively, asked me some questions, and then said, "An excellent subject, but of course, a difficult one, which will take up

a lot of time. I think you will cope with it, but I do not see what kind of end you will give it. Life does not provide the logical ending. No, that book must be written after the revolution; what we need now is something like *Mother*." Of course, I myself did not see how the book should end.

That is how he was always on a surprisingly straight line towards the truth; he was always full of foresight and presentiment about all things.

But why am I saying this to you who was at his side all his life and knew him better than I and people in general did.

I wish you the best of health, dear Nadezhda Konstantinovna, shake your hand and embrace you.

My greetings to Maria Ilyinichna.

A. Peshkov

Written on May 16, 1930

Published in part in *Leningradskaya Pravda*, September 24, 1932

M. Gorky, *On Literature*, Moscow, pp. 388-90

TO N. K. KRUPSKAYA

Dear Nadezhda Konstantinovna,

Your letter[280] contains these words: "I was strongly tempted to talk with you simply about Ilyich, but I felt shy and it seemed to me that there was something in me you did not like." That you were "shy" I can understand. Unfortunately, it isn't a custom with us and among us to talk "simply". I too, whenever I feel like talking *that way*, get shy and hold back.

As for my "not having liked something", I tell you in all sincerity that you are mistaken. In those days I was in a somewhat stunned frame of mind and that mood may have been uppermost during my conversation with you and Maria Ilyinichna. If you remember, I spoke about certain inner-party relationships and about the "pressure" on the party intellectuals. Incidentally, this phenomenon, too, was foreseen by Ilyich; he had spoken about its inevitability on Capri in connection with Bogdanov, Bazarov and Lunacharsky, and in the year 1920 or 1921 in connection with the "Prokukish Committee"[281]—of Prokopovich, Kuskova and Kishkin.

You know, of couese, that he never missed an opportunity to urge me not to "intercede" too much and often ridiculed my attempts "to defend the persecuted". As a matter of fact I understood "the persecuted" only here, outside the Union of Soviets.

No, my dear N. K., you are mistaken about my "not liking" you. My feeling towards you is a quite definite one of sincere respect and sympathy. There are few such steadfast people like you. But there is no need for me to pay you compliments—you know quite well yourself how difficult and splendid your career has been, how hard you have worked for the cause of the revolution.

I very much regret that I haven't the strength to go and see you—I am tired, dispirited and worried; I can't get the journals going properly, and I attach great importance to them, in which I believe I am not mistaken, judging by readers' response.

How is your health? I hope you won't be living in town during the summer?

I wish you all the best.

A. Peshkov

My warmest regards to Maria Ilyinichna.

13.VI.30

Published in part in the magazine *Oktyabr* No. 6, 1941

Printed from the original (A. M. Gorky archives)

From A LETTER TO ROMAIN ROLLAND

I wish you the best of health, Rolland, and do not lose faith in Lenin's cause, which you have quite rightly described as "the greatest cause of our world".

Written on November 2, 1930

First published in 1958 in *V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gorky*, 1st ed.

Printed from a rough copy of the autograph (A. M. Gorky archives)

From THE REPLY TO A QUESTIONNAIRE OF THE MAGAZINE *V U*

...on the basis of the Marx-Engels philosophy of history, and developing it to its logical conclusion Vladimir Lenin

taught the Russian working class the direct and practical road to liberation from cruel captivity of lunatics and incompetents.

Written on January 3, 1931

First published in the newspapers *Pravda* and *Izvestia* No. 32, February 2, 1931

M. Gorky, *Articles and Pamphlets*, Moscow, 1951, p. 222

From A LETTER TO N. K. KRUPSKAYA

It is seven years now since V. Ilyich left us. What battles have been fought during that time, and what a lot has been done. Still, he was in too great a hurry to go....

Written on January 29, 1931

First published in 1958 in *V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gorky*, 1st ed.

Printed from the original (A. M. Gorky archives)

From THE ARTICLE "TO THE SHOCK WORKERS OF THE CITY OF LENIN"[282]

At some factories and mills shock brigades named after me have been organised. This is a great honour and joy for me. I understand, of course, that this is a very good—a too generous—reward for my work. I understand that if shock workers include me in their ranks, as it were, they do so through a desire to see every single worker marching in step with the vanguard of labour's heroes. This is a quite legitimate desire, and it should be wedded to the greatest possible persistence.

* * *

Where did the idea of shock work originate, on what is it based?

The socialists of the Second International, the Mensheviks, contended and continue to contend that the life of the working class in the capitalist countries can be changed for the better only through evolution—gradually, slowly, without disdaining, in the struggle against capitalism, to collaborate with the petty bourgeoisie, carefully winning from the bosses the right to outward, petty material improvements in the hard semi-pauper life of the proletariat.

Vladimir Lenin, the leader and teacher of the proletariat of all countries, roused the irreconcilable hatred of the "gradualist socialists" by exposing the evident untenability of the theory of the Mensheviks and revealing the hostility of their practice to the historical aims of the working class.

He showed and proved that in the context of a capitalist state, where political power belongs to the big bosses and is supported by the whole mass of the petty bourgeoisie, the material conditions of life of the workers can be improved only temporarily to a negligible degree and is therefore a delusion, and there are no grounds whatever in believing in the gradual and steady improvement of those conditions.

He showed that collaboration of the workers' parties with the parties of the petty bourgeoisie corrupted the class feeling of the proletarian masses and steadily blunted their revolutionary temper.

He showed that the working class of Europe, in the person of its leaders—the socialists of the 2nd International, was making enemies for itself and that political collaboration of those leaders in parliament with the capitalists made these leaders sheer traitors to the working class.

He showed that not only social-democratic intellectuals but the most intelligent workers, under capitalist power, are corrupted by the temptations of middle-class life and become officials of parties, trade unions and municipal councils, break away from the labour masses and increase the organisational power of the capitalists, that is, increase the number of enemies of the working class.

Vladimir Lenin showed that the theory of social evolution—the theory of the gradualists—was nothing but a bridle with which the capitalists and the philistines curb the working class, draining its mighty powers for providing a good life for its enemies—the capitalists, the bourgeoisie and its own leaders and officials.

The realities of the bourgeois states of Europe and America have fully borne out all previsions and warnings of Lenin....

Written in April 1931

First published in part in *Krasnaya Gazeta* No. 31, June 20, 1936

Printed from a typewritten copy received from the author's private archives (A. M. Gorky archives)

From A TALK WITH YOUNG SHOCK-WORKER ENTRANTS INTO LITERATURE

...What is happening in China, Italy, Spain and throughout the world is due not only to the economic crisis and unemployment, but to the effects of the energy emanating from the Union of Soviets.

In the small town of Sorrento in 1924 one of the streets had written on it the words: "Viva Lenin". The police painted over the inscription with yellow paint. Then "Viva Lenin" was written in red. The police painted it over with brown paint. Then it was written in white: "Viva Lenin".

And so it stands to this day....

The talk was held on June 11, 1931

First published under the heading "Udarnik v literature" in the newspaper *Komsomolskaya Pravda* No. 217, August 8, 1931

Printed from M. Gorky, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 71

From THE ARTICLE "TO WORK!"

The capitalists, in striving to squeeze out of the flesh of the working class as much fat useless gold as they can—enough soon to choke them, it would seem—have been disposing, and in Europe are still disposing, of the flesh and blood of the workers, just as the workers are disposing of iron ore and other raw materials to melt the ore down into steel and the raw materials into countless socially necessary articles. A comparison of these two opposite activities reveals to the bare bone and roots the idiotism of the capitalist state. This idiotism, anarchism and inhuman cynicism have been exposed with the greatest clarity by V. I. Lenin, a man whose brilliant mind, as far back as the year 1907, when the leaders of Europe's Social-Democracy trod the earth in decent clothes, foresaw that these leaders would change into the liveries of lackeys of capitalism and betray the working class, which is what they are doing. They are doing it because the poison of philistine psychology is a deadly poison, which in the class struggle plays the role of poison gas.

Fourteen years ago the working class of the Union, led by the Party of the Bolsheviks, reared by Lenin, took political power into its hands and began to exercise full

power within the country, more and more quickly converting the physical energy of its hundreds of thousands of units into collective intellectual, creative energy....

First published in *Pravda* and *Izvestia* No. 327, November 28, 1931

Printed from M. Gorky, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, pp. 173-74

From THE ARTICLE "ON THE *POET'S LIBRARY*"

I shall close these notes with the words of V. I. Lenin (I took them from the book *Lenin on Art*, Kubuch Publishers, 1926): "Why should we reject the truly beautiful as a point of departure for further development just because it is old?"[283]

This rejection of the "truly beautiful as a point of departure for further development" Vladimir Ilyich called "senselessness, absolute senselessness". And he, Lenin, was a revolutionary of incredibly gigantic stature, he was the founder of the new socialist culture. His powerful mind, always encompassed in clear simple words, pointed to us the way to the new culture and taught us the technique of its construction.

First published in. *Pvavda* and *Izvestia* No. 335, December 6, 1931

Printed from M. Gorky, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 185

From A LETTER TO A. N. AFINOGENOV

Your play[284] is infelicitous and harmful because you have fallen a prey to the grossest empiricism and attach too great importance to your own personal experience. I would remind you of an occasion when I disagreed with Vladimir Ilyich. I considered myself a man of wider experience than he, a theoretician. He himself was partly to blame for this absurd and stupid mistake of mine, as in London—and elsewhere—he had complained to me that he was not well up in Russian realities and that "you can't wholly show up a person by the mere aid of statistics or arithmetic". In the year 1917 my empiricism was the cause of my sceptical attitude to the

strength of the proletariat, and, as you know, the "theoretician" proved stronger than the empiricist, closer to the historical truth. That error cost me dear. I deeply, warmly loved and respected Ilyich and never felt so miserable, so helpless as in the year of his death. Here, dear comrade, is a case which should give you food for thought—it is extremely instructive....

Written in April, after the 12th, 1933
First published in 1958 in *V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gorky*, 1st ed.

Printed from a typewritten copy received from Gorky's personal archives (A. M. Gorky archives)

From THE ARTICLE "TO BE VEHICLES OF A GREAT TRUTH"

SPEECH AT A MEETING OF EDITORS OF POLITICAL DEPARTMENT NEWSPAPERS

In what kind of language should a Political Department newspaper be written?

What kind? The simpler the better, comrades. Real wisdom is always expressed very simply—Vladimir Ilyich Lenin is a striking illustration of this. The simpler and more forceful your language, the better will you be understood...

How can the literary page of a P.D. newspaper best be arranged?...

I think the literary page should be done this way: you should take the most striking and disturbing facts illustrative of the still persisting lack of culture among the peasantry, even those of the collective farms, facts that show the absurd attitude towards women and children—we still have them and they are probably multitudinous. These facts should be set forth in the form of a satirical article or in the form of a true story based on any one of such facts. In this direction you must act ruthlessly, the more ruthless the better. It often happens that by ridiculing a habit you help one to get rid of it. Vladimir Ilyich was very good at using this method of treatment....

First published in *Pravda* and *Izvestia*, August 23, 1933

Printed from M. Gorky, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, pp. 67, 68

From THE ARTICLE "ON PLAYS"

Historic, but unprecedented man, Man with a capital letter, Vladimir Lenin positively and for all time crossed out of life the type of comforter and replaced it with that of teacher of revolutionary law of the working class. It is this teacher, this public figure, this builder of the new world that should be the principal hero of modern drama....

First published in the anthology *God shestnadtsaty*, I, Moscow, 1933 and in the journal *Literaturnaya Uchoba*, No. 2, 1933

Printed from M. Gorky *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 426

From COMMENTS ON THE MSS FOR VOLUME ONE OF *A HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WAR*

I

...Volume One, as regards the purport and significance of the material, should be a textbook on the "art of insurrection"—that is just how Ilyich would have viewed it....

II

This chapter[285] ought to be prefaced with a brief account of the positions and forces of the Cadet and S.R. parties. It is useful to remind the reader that the social and ideological kinship of these parties was penetratingly revealed and explained by Ilyich as far back as in 1905, when agrarian disturbances had not only ruined the landed gentry, but jeopardised the kulak too....

The article is utterly "depersonalised". Events take place without human participation. It is conceivable, however, that—say, sometimes—a notable role in these events is played by personal giftedness or inaptitude, by revolutionary integrity or a propensity to meanness. To appreciate these qualities one had but to recall the fact that the great Vladimir Ilyich Lenin and Fyodor—also Ilyich—Dan acted simultaneously.

Written in the autumn of 1933
First published in 1958 in *V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gorky*, 1st ed.

Printed from the original (A. M. Gorky a chives)

From A LETTER TO N. K. KRUPSKAYA

Dear Nadezhda Konstantinovna,

I learned from the papers that you had reached the 65th year of your splendid, though difficult, life.[286] I cannot bring myself to congratulate you, but I sincerely wish you still many more years to see how the true friends and young disciples of Vladimir Ilyich, that great booster of revolutionary energy, are "changing the world" for the better....

Written on February 27, 1934

Printed from M. Gorky. *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, pp. 333-34

From THE ARTICLE "THE TRUTH OF SOCIALISM"

For ten years now the Party of Bolsheviks, embodiment of the mind and will of the proletariat of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, has been without Vladimir Ilyich Lenin in its mighty, amazingly productive work. The great stimulator of the revolutionary self-consciousness of the working class has departed, but with every passing year the revolutionary, cultural and economic work of Lenin's Party is enriching the peasant country—in the past a half-civilised country—with the stupendous results of its leadership, and every year is revealing more and more strikingly the scope and significance of Ilyich's organising work, his amazingly daring thought, his unerring calculations and his rare gift of foresight.

A great man, whom pygmies called a "visionary" and, in their hatred, made coarse fun of him—that great man gains ever more in grandeur. Of all the "great ones" in world history Lenin is the first whose revolutionary significance is steadily growing and will continue to grow....

First published in the book *Belomorsko-Baltiisky Kanal im. Stalina*, Moscow, 1934

Printed from M. Gorky *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 125

From THE ARTICLE "TO KNOW THE PAST IS ESSENTIAL"

To know the past is essential—without that knowledge one will lose one's way in life and may land again in that filthy and bloody mire from which the wise teaching of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin extricated us and set us upon the broad straight road to a great and happy future. He taught that:

"You can become a Communist only when you enrich your mind with a knowledge of all the treasures created by mankind..." (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 287).

"It would be mistaken to think it sufficient to learn communist slogans and the conclusions of communist science, without acquiring that sum of knowledge of which communism itself is a result" (*Ibid.*, p. 286).

"Without work and without struggle, book knowledge of communism obtained from communist pamphlets and works is absolutely worthless, for it would continue the old separation of theory and practice, the old rift which was the most pernicious feature of the old, bourgeois society" (*Ibid.*, p. 285).[287]

We, and especially our successor—youth—must arm ourselves with knowledge just as we must arm ourselves with steel to repel our enemies....

Written on October 9, 1935

First published in *Pravda* No. 282, October 12, 1935,

Printed from M. Gorky, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, pp. 475-76

NOTES[288]

I

People have read and studied, and I, beginning from the year 1907, have been rummaging in the dust and debris of the literature and publicism of that intelligentsia which turned away from the working class and entered the service of the bourgeoisie. It was hard work, but I had to do it in order to know everything that could corrupt and arrest the growth of the proletariat's revolutionary consciousness. What a mass of mean and stupid stuff I had waded through! And the wise articles of Ilyich, my friend and teacher.

who had treated me with such touching solicitude, have remained unread.

When I told him this at Yekaterina Pavlovna's he laughed and said:

"What about me? Didn't have time to work properly on Hegel. Hegel—nothing! I don't know a lot that I should know. I am not justifying you, or myself either. Yours is a different matter, though. Not in substance, but in form. I have no right to imagine myself a fool, but you must, otherwise you won't show the fool. There's that difference." And generously complimented me:

"But then you know the fools' business inside out. Listening to your stories one is even afraid that you won't have time to write them down. What's more you don't take care of your health at all—and your health is none too good. Get out to Italy, to Davos.

"If you don't go we'll send you out."

That [question] has been raised twice.

II

Since the year 1903 I consider myself a Bolshevik, that is, a sincere friend of the proletariat and up till Oct[ober] 1917 helped the Russian workers in every way I could.

V. Ilyich Lenin in October disconcerted me, as he did many Bolsheviks, by his fantastic daring, for it seemed to me that to place Russian pro-Party workers in key posts in a peasant country driven to the state of anarchy by the war was tantamount to destroying the only genuine revolutionary force within the country.

But Lenin proved a greater genius than people thought him, his comrades proved worthy associates and friends of that genius and the consciousness and will of the working class proved stronger than I, a writer, imagined. From the year 18, from the day of the dastardly attempt on V. I.'s life, I again felt myself a "Bolshevik"....

First published in 1958 in *V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gorky*, 1st ed.

Printed from the original (A. M. Gorky archives)

From A. D. SPERANSKY'S ARTICLE "THE LAST DAYS OF A. M. GORKY'S LIFE"

...He spoke about Lenin several times. One night he began to talk about his first meeting with him: "I haven't written about it yet and don't think I ever spoke about it. We met in Petersburg, I don't remember where. He—a short, bald man with a quizzical glance, and I big, ungainly with the face and manners of a Mordvinian. At first we didn't seem to be getting on, and then we took a closer look at each other, laughed and quickly found it easy to talk"....

First published in *Pravda* No. 168, June 20, 1936

Printed from the newspaper text

SUPPLEMENT

N. K. KRUPSKAYA

LENIN AND GORKY

Vladimir Ilyich had a high regard for Alexei Maximovich Gorky as a writer. He particularly liked his *Mother*, his articles in *Novaya Zhizn* on philistinism—Vladimir Ilyich himself hated every kind of philistinism—he liked *The Lower Depths*, liked the songs of Falcon and of the Stormy Petrel, their keynote, he liked such things of Gorky's as *The Creepy-Crawlies* and *Twenty-Six Men and a Girl*.

I remember how eager Ilyich was to go to the Art Theatre to see *The Lower Depths*, I remember how he used to listen to *My Universities* during the last days of his life.

Gorky wrote mostly about workers, about the city poor, about the "lower depths", about sections of the people in which Ilyich was most interested. He described life as it was in all its concreteness, he saw it with the eyes of a man who hated oppression, exploitation, banality and poverty of thought—with the eyes of a revolutionary. And what Gorky wrote was near and understandable to Ilyich.

Vladimir Ilyich himself studied life intently in all its trivial details. This ability of Ilyich's to notice trifles and give a meaning to them was remarked by Gorky in one of his letters to me (in 1930)....

Ilyich knew Russian literature well—it was for him an instrument for knowing life. And the more fully, exhaustively and profoundly works of fiction reflected life, the simpler they were, the more did Ilyich prize them.

Vladimir Ilyich became closely acquainted with Gorky in 1907 at the London Party Congress. He observed him there, talked with him and established a friendly relationship with him. Ilyich's letters to Gorky during his second emigration are of interest. The image of Ilyich as a man appears in these letters most strikingly. Ilyich wrote bluntly and

outspokenly to Gorky about things he did not agree with, things that agitated and worried him. This was Ilyich's usual way in writing to comrades, but in his letters to Gorky there was a special note. He often wrote, very sharply, but with a special sort of softening touch. He wrote always under the immediate impression of some fact or other, his letters were full of an emotional quality, vividly expressing anxiety, things he had felt keenly, joy, hopes. Ilyich believed that Gorky would understand all this properly. And Ilyich always wanted to persuade Gorky about the correctness of his views, which he warmly defended.

Lenin's letters to Gorky reveal the concern he showed for him. Everyone knows how considerate Ilyich was of people and how solicitous he could be. Alexei Maximovich himself often wrote about this. Everyone mentioned it.

Ilyich was concerned about Alexei Maximovich's health. He constantly asked about it, gave advice about taking treatment—it had to be with first-class doctors—strictly following doctors' orders, and not working at night.

In emigration Ilyich felt unhappy about not being able to meet workers. Though there were many workers living in emigration they usually got jobs quickly and made local French or Swiss interests their own, and life in a foreign country very quickly left its mark upon them. Therefore he was always glad to meet workers arriving abroad for a short stay. Ilyich was particularly pleased with the work among the workers of the Capri school and with the students of the party school at Longjumeau. In 1913 worker deputies were expected to arrive in Poronin (in Galicia, near Cracow). Gorky on Capri had still fewer opportunities of meeting Russian workers, and Ilyich clearly realised how hard this was for him. He invited Gorky to come to Poronin. "If your health permits, do come for a short time! You would meet more workers, after the ones at London and the Capri school."

I have kept a letter from Ilyich dated June 1919. I was travelling then aboard the propaganda steamer *Red Star* and had written to Ilyich about my first impressions, and it occurred to Ilyich that it would be a good thing to get Gorky to make such a trip....

I did not see much of Ilyich and Gorky together.

I wasn't at the London Congress, I did not go to Capri, and in Paris, in Moscow, at Gorki I always tried to make

myself scarce when Alexei Maximovich arrived so as to give them a chance to have a heart-to-heart talk tête-à-tête.

Alexei Maximovich is now living in the USSR, up to his ears in politics, writing ardent publicist articles, meeting all the workers he wants. I do not see much of him, though I do sometimes terribly want to speak with him about Ilyich, but life with us is at high pressure and everyone is busy. Alexei Maximovich is doing a lot of organising work in the field of literature, which no one else but he can do....

Printed in an abridged form from the collection *M. Gorky v vospominaniakh sovremennikov*, Moscow, Goslitizdat, 1955, pp. 37-40

M. ULYANOVA

LENIN AND GORKY

From REMINISCENCES

A big man has departed this life, a giant of the written word. And, as is always the case with people of such calibre, their role, their personality and their work for humanity seem after their death still bigger, more significant. One is keenly aware of this with the death of Alexei Maximovich.

I remember the role which he, his works, played for every one of us. I remember the bleak years of the underground. The significance of Gorky for the youth of that period, who were deprived of the free word. How avidly we read his novel *Mother* and learned by heart the deathless "Song of the Stormy Petrel".

At the end of the 90s I met Alexei Maximovich fleetingly at Nizhni-Novgorod, where I was banished under police surveillance. I got to know him better in Petrograd just before the revolution. Our meetings took place at his flat in Peterburgskaya Storona, where I went to him with letters and errands from Lenin. Ilyich had to earn a living; prices kept soaring daily owing to the imperialist war, and accustomed though he was to keeping his needs down to a bare minimum, the impossibility of finding literary work and "placing" his books made itself felt very keenly. Alexei Maximovich was a help.

Whereas at that time there was a good deal in political, especially emigrants' life, that repelled Gorky, who at times could not understand how people, "good" people, could diverge and fall out through political convictions, he was quick to appreciate Lenin, and the role that Lenin was destined to play in the life of our country and of all mankind. And he immediately came to love Lenin. Ilyich reciprocated. There were few people Lenin entertained such an affec-

tion for as he did for Gorky. His face always lighted up when he met Alexei Maximovich. He could talk with him for hours, and the conversation obviously gave him real enjoyment. Gorky was a charming, simple person of great attraction. And this brought them close together.

I call to mind: recitals at Gorky's flat, at which Ilyich's favourite musical pieces were performed; Gorky at our place in the country in Gorki and his frequent visits to the Kremlin, to Lenin's town flat.

Gorky always had some business or other with Ilyich, lots of requests for different people. And how responsive Lenin always was to these intercessions of Gorky's if there was the slightest possibility of fulfilling them.

Gorky played a very great role in rearing young literary tyros. It was amazing how he found time to read the vast number of letters that were forwarded on to him in Italy asking for help and advice, begging him to read this or that thing, and so on. Some of them passed through my hands when I worked at *Pravda* and I have no doubt that none of these letters went unanswered.

And when he got an opportunity of coming to the U.S.S.R, at first for a short stay, he attended meetings and rallies of worker and rural correspondents, spoke at them, talked for hours with workers, women-workers and peasant women. How many of them he encouraged with his support, advice and friendly word.

Now he is gone. But even after death he will continue the work to which he had devoted his life. From his immortal works the working people of all the world will learn to value the human being, to fight for a better, happier life throughout the world, for communism.

Printed from the collection *M. Gorky v vospominaniakh sovremennikov*, pp. 41-42

M. ANDREYEVA

ENCOUNTERS WITH LENIN

Usually, on coming to Petersburg, Maxim Gorky stayed in the home of the book publisher Konstantin Pyatnitsky, where he had two small rooms. During his stay in Petersburg the large Pyatnitsky flat was crowded from morning till evening with the most diverse company: writers, artists, actors and operatic singers, students and workers. This, of course, made it an object of frank attention to the tsarist police.

When we got ready at last in November 1905 to go to Petersburg, Alexei Maximovich told me, while still in the train, that we would first go to the *Novaya Zhizn* offices and from there to Pyatnitsky so as not to disconcert the watchers of his flat and not have them follow us. The relatives and friends who met us took our luggage, and Gorky and I went to the editorial offices on the Nevsky, which were close to the railway station.

And here, for the first time, Gorky and Vladimir Ilyich Lenin met and made each other's acquaintance.

I remember Lenin coming towards us out of some back rooms and quickly going up to Alexei Maximovich. They shook each other's hand for a long time, Lenin laughing joyfully, while Gorky, exquisitely shy, and assuming, as he always did in such cases, a deep solid bass, kept repeating: "Aha, so that's what you're like.... Fine, fine! I'm very glad, very glad!"

When we came to Pyatnitsky's Alexei Maximovich said to me after a long while:

"Well, well. So that's where we've arrived, you and I.... He's fine, don't you think so?"

Of course I guessed at once whom he meant, but asked teasingly: "Who?"

"What d'you mean? Why, Lenin of course! He's fine. And don't brag about your having said it before me, you have met him before I did," he wound up in quite a childish fashion.

He often resembled a big child.

* * *

I remember Gorky meeting Lenin in London in 1907 where he came to attend the Fifth Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party.

Lenin took us to the Imperial Hotel not far from the British Museum. The hotel was a great, damp, dingy house, but no other accommodation, for some reason, could be found.

I remember Lenin being worried about Gorky.

"He'll catch a cold here! He's used to a mild climate and good care.... "

Indeed, the room, a very small one, was damp and gloomy. A huge bed occupied half the space and a large window looked straight out into a wall. The gas fire gave little warmth. It was May, but the weather was damp and chilly.

Lenin went up to the bed and felt the sheets, and knowing that Gorky did not like anyone fussing about his health, said to me in an undertone:

"The sheets are quite damp, they should be dried, at least in front of that idiotic fire. We'll have Alexei Maximovich coughing, and that's no good at all!"

I found this solicitude most touching. Subsequently I had frequent opportunities of seeing with what care Lenin treated people, especially comrades, what a gift he had for seeing everything, noticing everything and never forgetting anything.

When Lenin left, Gorky paced the cheerless room for a long time, from window to door past the gas fire, twirling and biting, as was his habit, the tips of his moustache, then murmuring with a thoughtful air: "An amazing man!"

Alexei Maximovich was deeply excited and thrilled on receiving an invitation to attend the congress, and with a consultative voice at that. This brought him closer together than ever with the worker delegates who had arrived from Russia. He suffered keenly from his enforced separation from his homeland, though he carefully concealed this even from those close to him, while trying to persuade himself that he had no longing for Russia.

Attending all the meetings of the congress Alexei Maximovich drank in all the speeches and even separate words of the delegates and with every fresh encounter fell more and more in love with Lenin.

G. V. Plekhanov made an unfavourable impression upon him.

"The grand gentleman!" was Gorky's blunt comment.

And he argued warmly with Bogdanov, Stroyev and even with Lenin when they spoke to him about Plekhanov's great services, his erudition and intellect, although Alexei Maximovich himself was well aware what Plekhanov meant for the Party.

Alexei Maximovich had a deep-seated contempt for Lieber and Dan. Gorky generally hated the Mensheviks with every fibre of his being and made an exception only in the case of Martov, whom he called "a lost soul", and in that of Vlas Mgeladze, nicknamed "Triadze". Alexei Maximovich liked the latter for his indomitable nature and powerful physique. Subsequently, when that Vlas "Triadze" came to Capri and lived with us for a fairly long time, Alexei Maximovich became strongly disillusioned in him, and one day, I remember, he heaved a sigh and said: "No, in large dozes even a good fellow, if he's a Menshevik, is insufferable!"

To provide some form of nourishment for our comrades, most of whom were underfed, we arranded delivery of sandwiches and beer in baskets to the church in which the congress was being held.

The congress delegates during the intervals talked a lot about Gorky's *Mother*. The workers liked it, but some of them thought it pictured life more attractively than it really was. This grieved Gorky, and although he always appreciated criticism and sought it, in this case he argued warmly, saying that the manifestation of man's struggle against life's untruths was always beautiful and should therefore be attractive.

Lenin thought very highly of *Mother*, which he regarded as an important event, and the only faults he saw were mostly in the idealisation of the revolutionary intellectuals.

Gorky once told Lenin about the impression which the German Social-Democrats had made upon him. While in Berlin, Gorky had met Bebel, Kautsky, Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and others. The only ones he liked were Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. As for Bebel, on coming

into his home and seeing the profusion of little cushions, runners, curtains, cages with canaries and other attributes of German middle-class milieu Gorky at once became angry and treated Bebel rather coldly...

During supper an old woman, Bebel's wife, sat opposite Gorky at the big dining table, engaged in a lively conversation with fat apathetic Singer.

Gorky asked me what she was talking about. At the moment Bebel's wife was telling Singer how dear chickens were these days, how her August could eat nothing but chicken, and how lucky she had been that day in buying a couple of chickens for him, very good ones, too, and cheap.

On learning the subject of their conversation Gorky was so surprised that he even emitted a little grunt and drew a gusty sigh, which frightened old Bebel.

Gorky's accounts of 1905 and of the revolution in Moscow made no impression on the leaders of German Social-Democracy. They listened to his stories with polite scepticism. Gorky immediately felt this and shut up, and greatly to the surprise of the company he got up soon after the meal and took his leave in a hurry.

When Gorky, in the comical tones which he alone could adopt when telling a story, told Lenin about these visits to the German Social-Democrats, Lenin laughed until he cried and kept asking without end for more and more details.

Lenin was greatly interested in Gorky's meetings with English writers. Gorky made the acquaintance of Bernard Shaw, met G. H. Wells, with whom he had become acquainted during his stay in America, and met other, less distinguished writers, but spoke about these meetings with reluctance—the impressions of the congress and his meetings with Russian comrades engrossed him completely.

* * *

In London Lenin promised Gorky that he would come to Capri after the business of the congress had been completed, and he kept his promise.

Gorky met him, as excited as a boy. He fervently wanted Lenin to like the place and feel at home, to have a good rest and store up fresh energy.

Their daily fishing trips at sea—neither suffered from sea sickness—gave them an opportunity of conversing free-

ly—the only other occupants of the boat were Capri fishermen and myself.

Gorky told Lenin about Nizhni-Novgorod, about the Volga, about his childhood, his grandmother Akulina Ivanovna, about his youth and wanderings. He recalled memories of his father. Spoke a lot about his grandfather.

Lenin listened to him with rapt attention, his eyes, as was his habit, screwed up and twinkling. Once he said to Gorky: "You should write about this, my dear man. It's remarkably instructive, remarkably!"

Gorky stopped short, cleared his throat, and said shyly and ruefully: "I will... Some day."

Gorky enthusiastically showed Lenin around Pompeii and the National Museum of Naples, in which he knew every nook and cranny. They made a trip together to Vesuvius and the environs of Naples.

Gorky was a wonderful narrator. With two or three words he could paint a landscape, describe an event or a person. This gift of his delighted Lenin. Gorky for his part never ceased to admire Vladimir Ilyich's clearness of thought and keen intellect, his ability to approach a person or an event directly, simply and with extraordinary clarity.

I believe it was at that time that Lenin came to love Gorky dearly. I do not remember an occasion when Lenin was angry with him. Gorky loved Lenin deeply, impulsively, and admired him passionately.

On leaving for Paris Vladimir Ilyich promised to come again to Capri together with Nadezhda Konstantinovna. Unfortunately, this promise was not fully kept—he did come to Capri a second time, but without Nadezhda Konstantinovna and for a very short stay.

At that time Lunacharsky, Bogdanov and Bazarov were living on Capri, and Ladyzhnikov, an old friend and comrade of ours, had arrived from Berlin on publishing business.

On our way from the funicular to the Villa Bleasus where we then lived, Alexei Maximovich started to tell Vladimir Ilyich about the warm attachment which Bogdanov had for him, Lenin, and what extraordinarily gifted and intelligent men Lunacharsky and Bazarov were....

Vladimir Ilyich glanced at Alexei Maximovich sideways, screwed up his eyes and said very firmly: "Don't bother, Alexei Maximovich. Nothing will come of it."

Bogdanov, Bazarov and Lunacharsky made repeated attempts to come to an understanding with Vladimir Ilyich, but he avoided all talk on philosophical subjects. The futility of any such discussions at the given stage of their divergences was perfectly clear to him, and nothing we, including Alexei Maximovich, could do to draw him into such talks was of any avail. Yet Alexei Maximovich was most anxious to grasp the crux of these differences. The sharp disagreement between comrades caused him deep concern.

During this visit of Vladimir Ilyich Alexei Maximovich had few opportunities of having him to himself. Vladimir Ilyich stayed at Capri only a few days and after he had gone Gorky was in low spirits for quite a time.

Printed from the collection
M. Gorky v vospominaniakh sovremennikov, pp. 43-48

N. N. NAKORYAKOV

AT THE FIFTH PARTY CONGRESS

We first met Gorky at the opening of the congress. At the Bolshevik group meeting just before this Lenin informed us with great pleasure of the writer's forthcoming participation in the proceedings. He also warned against possible opposition on the part of the Mensheviks, who intended to admit Gorky to the congress only in the capacity of guest, without a consultative voice.

At the group meeting we unanimously voted for the motion to admit Gorky as a non-voting delegate. On learning of this the Mensheviks did not risk coming out against it, all the more as we had the strong support of the Polish and Lettish delegations, which gave us an absolute majority.

Gorky's appearance at the congress was greeted with a burst of applause, warmest of all on the part of the Bolshevik group headed by Lenin, who were seated at the entrance to the hall. During the meetings the writer most often took his seat among our group, and not on the balcony usually reserved for "non-voting delegates" and guests. Lenin greeted Gorky in a friendly way and always found time to talk with him. The Bolshevik delegates crowded round Gorky during the intervals. It was a natural expression of our community of ideas.

The writer himself had a strong urge towards talks with the Bolshevik delegates. He could often be seen in the centre of the Lettish delegation, among whom there were no few guerrillas, known as "the woodland brethren", men of intrepid courage who nourished an ineradicable hatred of tsarism. He could often be seen in the company of the Caucasian Bolsheviks, conversing with Mikha Tskhakaya, Stalin, Shahumyan and others. In response to a jocular remark by one of the Ural delegates about Gorky showing a preference for Caucasians, he parried good-naturedly:

"Oh, but we're countrymen—my literary career started in the Caucasus.... You just listen," he added, "what an underground printing press my countrymen have fixed up!..."

This mention of an underground printing press showed that the conversation had touched on the living facts of the Caucasian revolutionary movement.

Gorky also talked very often with the members of the Ural and Moscow delegations. I remember him showing a great interest in the past and present revolutionary movement in the Urals.

The writer asked in minute detail about the life of the Ural workers, about their links with the land on the basis of what remained of the Possessional Law.[289] We found that he knew as much as we did about these feudal methods of attachment of the workers to their factories. This, of course, amazed us, native Uralians. He spoke enthusiastically about the skilled craftsmen of the Urals, those artists of labour, which showed that he had a good knowledge of the industrial history of the Urals and of the local workingmen's folklore. He advised us to study that history, which he considered instructive and interesting. Gorky asked many questions about Perm, where he had worked as a cook and stevedore in his youth, and was interested also in learning how Motovilikha had become the home of the guerrilla actions of A. M. Lbov's fighting squads.

These meetings with Gorky took the form of lively conversations to which each of the delegates contributed from his own personal experience. The writer was interested to know how the elections of Bolshevik deputies to the Duma had taken place in the Urals, and inquired, in particular, how the workers of the Verkhnekamsk works had elected Vladimir Ilyich Lenin their delegate to the congress. Now, half a century later, it is difficult to recollect all the details of Gorky's talks with the congress delegates. What I do remember most vividly is that the writer talked with Lenin almost every day and they often left together after the meetings. This pointed to a mutual friendly attraction and a desire for constant intercourse.

Alexei Maximovich associated also with other delegates. He often spoke with Plekhanov, Deutsch and Axelrod. On one occasion, during an interval, he walked about for a long time conversing with the well-known Georgian Menshevik Tria (Mgeladze), who had taken part in the revolutionary

events in Iran and in the armed struggle of the Guria peasants. He also talked with former members of the Narodnaya Volya Party, specifically with Fanya Stepnyak, widow of the writer Stepnyak-Kravchinsky, who attended the congress as a guest. Generally, Gorky's interest in people was all-embracing....

At the congress, as we know, the struggle of the revolutionary trend within the party, headed by Lenin, against the opportunism of the Mensheviks flared up with renewed force. The Bolsheviks ardently defended their revolutionary policy and tactic against the attacks of the extinguishers of the revolution—the Mensheviks.

Gorky was no dispassionate witness of that struggle. He was definitely in our camp—that of the revolutionary party of a new type—and gladly welcomed the triumph of its principles at the congress. The writer often attended the evening meetings of the Bolshevik group, where resolutions were drafted and discussed. He followed the debates at these meetings with great attention.

I remember one of these meetings at which the question of armed uprising was discussed. Its participants sat around a large table on a disarray of drawn-up benches. Gorky stood behind, leaning on the back of a bench. The delegates spoke one after another. All were seized by the grandeur of the moment. They spoke passionately about the heroism of the working class in 1905, about the inevitability of further revolutionary clashes with tsarism in the future. At that moment we heard above us the half-whispered words: "Such people are capable of holding the future in their hands...."

We looked up and saw the pale rapt face of Gorky, whose glance was directed to the centre of the meeting, to where Lenin and other Bolshevik delegates were sitting. We understood: Alexei Maximovich had unconsciously voiced his thoughts aloud....

After that meeting several delegates went up to Gorky and asked him a naive, but for that time difficult question —what did he think, could the victory of the workers' socialist revolution be expected within ten or twenty years?

To our surprise Alexei Maximovich smiled broadly and answered at once: "Of course it can and must, only I haven't figured exactly how many years we shall have to wait!..."

We all understood the seriousness of Gorky's joke and laughed gaily. We laughed long and infectiously, the way

youth laughs at a good wise joke. And we were all very young then: most of the delegates were 25 to 28 years old!

Gorky often remarked about our age with something akin to either surprise or gladness. I remember him taking down notes of the age figures of the congress delegates from the report of the Credentials Committee, which he afterwards checked back with me, as a member of that committee, remarking about the Ural and Moscow groups of Bolsheviks: "Regular military, fighting age—you are growing up splendidly!..."

Gorky took a keen interest in the contents of the Bolshevik resolutions. He continually reverted to this subject in conversation. And when these resolutions were put to the vote he was obviously agitated, and when they won a majority he applauded warmly together with us. This created among the Bolshevik delegates a warm and friendly attitude towards the proletarian writer.

After the meetings we often saw Alexei Maximovich off in a crowd to a park, near which he lived. It wasn't far from the place where the congress was held. These walks were usually of lively affairs and somewhat disturbed the orderly peace of London's narrow pavements.

Sometimes these walks were accompanied by a mock battle with newspaper photographers. The latter, among whom there were agents of the British and Russian police, hunted "Russian revolutionaries" in an attempt to photograph us, not always for the newspapers. This usually started a game of hide and seek: we did everything we could to avoid the cameras; swiftly turned our backs on them, screened one another, waved caps and hats at them. The result was a merry hurly-burly, in which amiably disposed and sympathetic passers-by often joined. Gorky was not afraid of being photographed, but for the other delegates it was dangerous to leave pictures of themselves in London, as they were wanted by the tsarist police. Moreover, this went against our secrecy rules and practice.

One day, on coming out of the Baptist church where our congress was being held, some dozen or so photographers started focussing their cameras at Lenin. Our young workers plunged headlong into the fray: cameras and tripods went flying in all directions together with their owners, and the air was filled with flying caps, hats and even threatening fists. Strapping delegates quickly surrounded Ilyich and

drove off the importunate reporters. Gorky was in the thick of this fray.

The next day, in one of the newspapers, the tall figure of Gorky stood out in a blurred photograph beside the back of Lenin in a circle of raised arms hats and the backs of unidentifiable heads. The caption read something like: "Bolsheviks back at being photographed...." And a commentary by a disgruntled reporter....

Gorky joked a good deal about these "battles" with photographers. At Lenin's request he wrote to the journalists' union asking that we should not be bothered too much with photographing. I believe he was able to persuade them, since, towards the close of the congress, the "hunt" noticeably diminished.

The writer took an interest in our living conditions abroad. During the first days of the congress he noticed that the refreshment bar, organised for the participants of the congress, fed us stale and expensive sandwiches. I remember him asking Maria Fyodorovna Andreyeva to fix things up for "those poor bachelors".... Maria Fyodorovna went to work energetically and within two days the bar fed us better and cheaper. Considering our meager resources, this care of Gorky's could not but impinge itself upon our minds.

An unforgettable experience was the visit to the British Museum by a small group of delegates together with Lenin and Gorky. This stupendous depository of ancient treasures of different nations and different epochs made a tremendous impression upon us. During our inspection of the Museum Vladimir Ilyich, who was familiar with its treasures, made appropriate comments....

The past decades have not obliterated the memory also of our literary talks with Gorky. Of course, we asked him many questions on literary subjects, such as Leo Tolstoi's "God-seeking", Chekhov's "pessimism", Leonid Andreyev's mysticism, some writers' departure from the social into the individual and sensual, and so on. We ourselves were not very well up in questions of literature. We linked our practical demands upon it with the tasks of the struggle against tsarism, against the ruthless exploitation of the working people.

Gorky's clear and simple answers helped us to grasp the social significance of literature as a weapon of struggle. Alexei Maximovich gave himself up to these talks with the

delegates with all his heart. He spoke with great warmth about the writers grouped around Znaniye, about these writers' democratic leanings, and about the young talents, who, he was convinced, were rising from the midst of the people. We carried away with us from these talks the conviction that progressive fiction writers served the cause of the revolution.

Towards the end of the congress it transpired that most of the delegates did not have enough money to live on and pay their fare home. The situation was a critical one. The committee set up to raise funds through various delegates (through Plekhanov, for instance) scraped together five thousand rubles, but at least twenty thousand more in gold was required. British socialist circles and the German Social-Democratic Party refused a loan owing to lack of funds.

After Lenin's talk with him on this subject Gorky threw himself energetically into the task of raising a loan. The Mensheviks suspected us of wanting to use the writer's name and influence to obtain a "factional" loan only for our delegates and staged a minor squabble over it. But the noisy Menshevik orators were utterly mistaken about our intentions....

Presently Alexei Maximovich reported that he had found a source for the loan. True, the terms demanded for it were rather unusual: we were required to give an IOU signed by all the delegates promising repayment of the loan within a fairly short period.

For illegal delegates hounded and hunted by the tsarist police to give their signatures was a risky business.... We had to make sure that our wealthy British creditor, a collector of interesting autographs, would not betray us and sell them to the tsarist Okhranka.

At the same time Gorky sought ways of raising money on his own notes of hand without a collective engagement by the congress delegates. Meanwhile, through various confidential agents, he made inquiries about that eccentric Englishman's bona fides and was prepared to give his own personal engagement to help the Party. Only when he was convinced that the Englishman's offer had no catch in it did he propose to the delegates to sign the document for a loan of £1,700. This document has now been published in the verbatim report of the Fifth Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. The signed document was endorsed by Gorky and the money received....

This loan helped out the needy delegates and provided for their fare home. Alexei Maximovich was delighted at the success of his efforts and his comment on that odd Englishman was: "Such eccentric persons—collectors of rarities—can only be met with in England. He could simply have taken a promissory note from me against security of my royalties on the English editions of my writings—it would even have been more reliable! But, no, he must have something rare, a note signed by the own hands of Russian revolutionaries, which no one else has got."

This loan was repaid by our Party after the Great October Socialist Revolution, and the unusual IOU is now an exhibit at the Museum of the Revolution of the U.S.S.R.

The congress was over. The delegates departed. Many of them have preserved a lifelong memory of those unforgettable encounters with the Stormy Petrel of the Russian revolution.

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FROM A SPEECH BY A. V. LUNACHARSKY

MAXIM GORKY

Even when Alexei Maximovich, together with us Vperyodists veered from the straight path, Vladimir Ilyich never for a moment relaxed his love for Gorky, his faith in him. Even at that time, when sending him his masterly, caustic, angry and affectionate letters, he proclaimed that Gorky was a real, genuine proletarian writer, who had given much and would give still more to the proletariat....

Vladimir Ilyich's attitude to Gorky was wonderful. I remember perfectly well how Alexei Maximovich very soon re-entered into friendly, very friendly and close relations with Vladimir Ilyich. He came to see him, bringing all kinds of complaints; how many absurdities and errors many of us committed then.... And Vladimir Ilyich used to say: He's a rare good man, Gorky! And the position he was in! We had more than enough of all kinds of absurdities and excesses. One had to have great courage and a vast horizon, one had to attune one's mind to the idea that everything would be coped with, to feel reassured. And he has delicate nerves, for he is an artist, and all this makes a particularly painful impression on him. It is because he is such a great artist that he found it so difficult to endure all these horrors of the transitional period, so hard it was for him to get over them. And then, those we had "grieved" knew that we loved him, and they started to take their grievances and complaints to him, and heaped up such a pile of them that Alexei Maximovich's senses reeled. It was better for him to go away, take a cure and a holiday, look at all this from afar, while we meanwhile sweep our street clean and then tell him: "We are now more presentable and can even invite our artist over."

And so Alexei Maximovich, driven by his illness, by the need for saving his life, which was dear to all in whom there

lives a real love for people, was cut off from us by distance. But this had not torn him away from us. The thread through which the blood flows, that blood-vessel to the heart of Alexei Maximovich remained; it grew, became more demanding, and Alexei Maximovich felt a longing to come here, to join us. He was drawn here by that thread, and here he was seized rapturously in the gigantic embrace of the victorious proletariat of our country.

Printed from the book
A. V. Lunacharsky, *Statyi o Gorkom*, Moscow,
Goslitizdat, 1938, pp. 70-71

M. GLYASSER

LENIN AND GORKY

During my work in Lenin's secretariat I often had occasion to witness meetings between Vladimir Ilyich and Maxim Gorky.

A sense of overwhelming joy filled all us members of the secretariat staff whenever Gorky came to see Vladimir Ilyich. This joy was imparted to us by Vladimir Ilyich's own elated mood of eager expectancy at the prospect of meeting Gorky, his great affection for him as a close friend, as a man who had devoted his whole great talent to the cause of the proletarian revolution.

More often than not Alexei Maximovich visited Vladimir Ilyich at his flat. But sometimes Vladimir Ilyich received him in his private office. On the eve of Gorky's arrival from Petrograd Vladimir Ilyich usually called his secretary and said in a very warm and excited tone: "Gorky is arriving tomorrow morning. Send my car for him to the station, and see that everything is ready at his flat for his arrival. Find out whether it's warm there, whether they have firewood. Arrange with him at what time to send the car." Alexei Maximovich was not one for looking after himself and Vladimir Ilyich was aware of that: he attended to Gorky's comfort down to the smallest detail—no easy task that during those years, years of the Civil war.

On the morning of the day that Gorky was expected Vladimir Ilyich would come into his office earlier than usual and immediately sent for his secretary to report whether everything had been done. "You didn't forget to tell the guard at the Kremlin gates not to detain Gorky there, did you?" Half an hour later the bell would ring again: "Has the car been sent?"

It is most regrettable that we kept no record at that time of Vladimir Ilyich's receptions, his orders and instructions, etc. It is difficult therefore to recollect the dates of his meetings with Gorky. But the meetings themselves stand out vividly in the memory. I remember only one occasion in 1919 when Alexei Maximovich, who arrived unexpectedly in the evening when Vladimir Ilyich was away, addressing a meeting that day, had to wait for his return in the secretariat. Usually Gorky never had to wait a minute. Vladimir Ilyich would come out to meet him, shake hands with him, and with one arm round his shoulder, would look straight into his eyes, as was his habit, inquire immediately about his health and lead him into his office.

During the time Vladimir Ilyich had Gorky sitting with him, we were kept pretty busy. Alexei Maximovich brought with him a host of cares concerning business matters and people, and Vladimir Ilyich always saw to it that none of these affairs remained undealt with or inconclusive. Right away we were given orders and instructions, inquiries were sent out, and letters and telegrams were written, the replies to which had to be reported to Vladimir Ilyich without fail.

There were occasions when Gorky's visit coincided with some urgent business on which Vladimir Ilyich happened to be engaged, or with his interviews with some person who had arrived on urgent business. In such cases Vladimir Ilyich always warned us in advance: "As soon as Alexei Maximovich arrives let him into my office at once, even if I am engaged." And Vladimir Ilyich would go on working in the presence of Gorky until he had finished with the urgent business.

Gorky reciprocated with as deep a feeling towards Vladimir Ilyich. Sometimes, on Vladimir Ilyich's instructions, I would speak with Alexei Maximovich immediately after their meetings to ascertain and write down the details of his requests and petitions on one or another affair. He could not conceal his emotion after such meetings, shared his impressions with me, speaking as if he were reliving his recent talks....

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B. MALKIN

V. I. LENIN AND M. GORKY

From Reminiscences

I recall to mind a number of facts, conversations and episodes, linking Vladimir Ilyich with Gorky in the early years of the revolution indicative of the great friendship and attachment that existed between those two admirable men of our epoch.

I remember Vladimir Ilyich being confronted with the question of Gorky in 1918.

The question concerned the *Novaya Zhizn* that was being published by him, a journal that maintained a semi-hostile attitude towards us and had become a centre of extreme Left intellectuals who saw Bolshevism as a menace to "culture".

The decision on this question was referred to Vladimir Ilyich.

Before us stood an ideologically implacable leader of the workers' state. Not a shadow of doubt, gone were all personal sympathies and attachments.

"Of course, *Novaya Zhizn* must be closed down. Under present conditions, when the whole country has to be roused in defence of the revolution, intellectualist pessimism in any form is extremely harmful. Gorky is one of us.... He stands too close to the working class and the labour movement and is himself a man of the people. He is bound to return to us.... It was the same in 1908, at the time of the 'otzovists'. These political zigzags happen with him...."

Vladimir Ilyich firmly repeated several times that Gorky was bound to return to us soon.

He spoke of Gorky in very friendly tones, with a sort of special tenderness, as one does of a person who is very near.

Indeed, Vladimir Ilyich knew Gorky very well and was not mistaken in him. By the end of the year Gorky was working closely with us and the memorable year 1919 found him

in the vortex of intensive activities in a number of cultural spheres.

A large centre of Soviet cultural activities formed at once in Petrograd around Alexei Maximovich; work was in full swing around Vsemirnaya Literatura which he had organised and the House of Scientists, business contacts were established with the Academy of Sciences, which had started work on a survey of the country's natural and productive resources, new literary, scientific and technical works appeared, and we witnessed, during the harsh and hungry period of War Communism, how the workers' state did everything it could to meet the intelligentsia at the latter's first friendly attempt to take part in the common work. Vladimir Ilyich's leading part in this work gave it extensive scope.

Every arrival of Gorky's in Moscow caused a stir among us, the circle of intellectuals connected with us kept widening and new cultural undertakings arose.

Vladimir Ilyich invariably supported Gorky in all these undertakings, especially in the matter of books and publishing.

The idea of setting up a central state publishing house was Gorky's, and he took a close part in its organisation. On Vladimir Ilyich's suggestion Gorky was appointed to the Editorial and Literary Board of Gosizdat, as the new body came to be called.

I remember a joint visit Gorky and I paid to Lenin on book business; the question concerned support for Gorky's Vsemirnaya Literatura, the provision of special foreign literature for scientific and engineering workers and the general improvement of the book publishing.

Various other questions cropped up during the conversation which were discussed between these two outstanding men.

It gave one keen enjoyment to see the two and listen to their two-hour easy conversation, conducted in tones of friendly candour, sincere interest and that special open-hearted warmth which was characteristic of Ilyich's attitude towards Gorky.

The conversation was frequently interrupted by Ilyich's hearty laugh, which gave to the talk an air of ease and jollity.

Alexei Maximovich was interceding for somebody and kept saying how, at one time, the man had "hidden our peo-

ple". Ilyich countered jocularly: "You be careful, Alexei Maximovich, he may be a tender-hearted man, who once hid our people and now may be hiding the Cadets from us...."

There appeared upon his face that engaging, quizzical smile so familiar to all who had but once seen him.

There was no prettyism in their conversation: they uttered no paradoxes or truisms; Gorky had a wonderful manner of speaking about ordinary things in a way that made them sound very significant and a sort of special, keen, earnest attention and intense curiosity and interest where people and their doings were concerned.

Gorky always spoke about immediate experiences, and before his delighted listeners there arose real living people and eloquent facts. And one should have seen the glance of Ilyich's keen, attentive eyes gazing affectionately at Gorky, one should have heard how quickly he grasped Gorky's unuttered thought, directed it into the broad channel of principled generalisation, and probed a question to rock-bottom with the brilliant scalpel of his mind, invariably linking practice with theory. And all this was done so simply, that no room remained for muddle or uncertainty.

Vladimir Ilyich always very persistently demanded fulfilment of all he had approved of in Gorky's proposals, and always advised enlisting Alexei Maximovich's cooperation in dealing with problems of books and literature.

Vladimir Ilyich made careful inquiries as to how Gorky's works were selling and kept saying how important it was to have all of Gorky published.

Of us he demanded immediate delivery to him of every new book of Gorky's. When Gorky's reminiscences of Tolstoi came out we sent the book at once to Vladimir Ilyich. He told us afterwards that he had gulped it down the same night and had liked it very much.

He told us, sharing his impressions of the book: "You know, Tolstoi, under Gorky's hand, has come alive. I don't think anyone has written about Tolstoi so honestly and boldly."

There was a good deal of talk in Moscow about the big meeting of the intelligentsia chaired by Gorky that was held at the People's House in Petrograd. It was the first striking Soviet demonstration of intellectuals who had ranged themselves on our side.

Gorky received a tumultuous ovation, and Vladimir Ilyich spoke about the need for organising a similar meeting in Moscow with Gorky....

I remember Vladimir Ilyich urging that speeches by Gorky be recorded for the gramophone; he even made up a list of tentative subjects to be given to Gorky. These were: on anti-semitism, on the intelligentsia, science and the revolution, on specialists and a number of other themes of the cultural series.

These were subjects on which Alexei Maximovich had to speak, but he always declined, pleading vocal inadequacy. "I am no orator", he used to say, "I am a writer, I had better write it for you".... And so we failed to make any records of Gorky's voice.

During the discussion of questions relating to the reorganisation of the People's Commissariat for Education Vladimir Ilyich worked specially on questions of book publishing and wrote a big article in *Pravda* about our Press Circulation Agency. After it was published he asked us to be sure to get Gorky to cooperate in dealing with problems of book publishing and in particular insisted on our examining the possibility of placing orders for publishing certain books in Germany.

During every visit of his Alexei Maximovich never failed to raise before Ilyich the question of preserving and strengthening the depleted ranks of scientists, engineers and literary workers.

From these talks arose the idea of organising the SWC (Scientists' Welfare Commission), which Vladimir Ilyich warmly supported, and they led to meetings arranged by Gorky between Vladimir Ilyich and eminent academicians....

On special questions concerning literature Gorky was always supported by Lunacharsky, whom Ilyich jocularly called "Patron of the Muses"; it is to the efforts of Gorky and Lunacharsky that we owe the fact that during the years of War Communism we were able to build up a material base of sorts for a number of scientific and literary indertakings.

I remember Ilyich telling us with confidence and conviction, when we met, that we would soon become—if only we beat the Whites—the greatest breeding centre of scientific life, and how every success in these fields gladdened him.

Yet, amid all the social, material and business affairs, fighting fronts, international politics, etc., in which he was

immersed, he could devote to these scientific and cultural matters so little time.... Nevertheless, there was never an occasion when Gorky, on coming to Moscow, did not meet Ilyich....

They were drawn together by an organic, passionate hatred of philistinism; both were democratic by nature from head to foot, and this working-class culture was what Ilyich particularly appreciated in Gorky....

I remember that, when speaking to us about Gorky, Ilyich always emphasised that Gorky's labour path to a culture so striking and amazing was bound to draw him close to the new workers' and peasants' intelligentsia, who, too, were assimilating culture in hard work and struggle.

Printed from the book
V. I. Lenin o literature i iskusstve, Moscow, Goslitizdat, 1957, pp. 599-602

Y. P. PESHKOVA

VLADIMIR ILYICH VISITS A. M. GORKY IN OCTOBER 1920

During his visits to Moscow Alexei Maximovich lived in Flat 16, House No. 1, Mashkov Pereulok, where I lived with my son Maxim Alexeyevich.

After the Government moved over to Moscow Alexei Maximovich saw a good deal of Vladimir Ilyich. I was no witness to these meetings. Alexei Maximovich visited the Kremlin either on Vladimir Ilyich's invitation or on business of his own he wished to see him about. Sometimes he went alone, sometimes with our son, and sometimes with one or another scientist whose life and work were causing Alexei Maximovich great concern at the time.

In the middle of January 1919, when Alexei Maximovich was in Moscow, he asked for inquiries to be made whether Vladimir Ilyich could receive him. They replied that they would find out. Presently they phoned up from the Kremlin to say that Vladimir Ilyich had gone to Gorky's place. We waited for him a long time. It transpired that he had come, but the lift in our house was out of order, and Vladimir Ilyich at that time was not allowed to ascend stairs, and he went back to the Kremlin.

Alexei Maximovich went there to see him and talked about the need for rendering assistance to scientists. At the end of January Lenin received him with a delegation of Petrograd scientists.

In the autumn of 1920, when Alexei Maximovich was in Moscow, he asked his son Maxim to find out from Vladimir Ilyich when he could receive him. Vladimir Ilyich said he would come and see him himself the next day.

This time they met at our place. I remember it was round about the 18th or 20th October, 1920 (I am not sure of the exact date).

Vladimir Ilyich dismissed his escort. Alexei Maximovich met him in the hall and they passed into his study. Presently they both went out into the dining room, apparently continuing their conversation about the condition of scientists and writers, their living conditions.

Seeing the small iron stove in the study, Vladimir Ilyich asked me: "Is it cold in the flat? You should have a carpet on the floor, it will be warmer." (A day or two later two carpets were delivered to us. We still have them.)

They sat down at the table, on which coffee had been prepared. Vladimir Ilyich continued to talk about the hard conditions of life.

Alexei Maximovich switched the conversation over to literature and strongly urged the need for supporting young writers from among the people and writers of different nationalities. He spoke about outstanding writers of the Ukraine, about talented writers of Tataria, about writers of Siberia, mentioning in particular Vasily Anuchin. At the mention of Anuchin's name Vladimir Ilyich related how he had met him in Krasnoyarsk on his way to his place of exile in the village of Shushenskoye, and how Anuchin had shown him over Yudin's library.

Alexei Maximovich continued to speak about the need for preserving the nation's assets—its scientific, literary and artistic cadres.

Just then there arrived Isai Dobrovein, the pianist, whom Alexei Maximovich had invited to play for Vladimir Ilyich. The talk turned to music. Knowing that Alexei Maximovich was fond of Grieg, Dobrowein began to play him, then played Mozart, Ravel, Rakhmaninov....

Vladimir Ilyich asked him to play Beethoven's Appassionata sonata. He was deeply moved and sat for several minutes in silence. Vladimir Ilyich stayed with Alexei Maximovich for about two hours.

On taking his leave, he rebuked me for not applying for anything we needed: "Life has become rather difficult," he said.

Returning to the dining room, we sat at the table for quite a time, and Alexei Maximovich spoke about his meetings with Vladimir Ilyich.

Printed from the original
(A. M. Gorky archives)

KONSTANTIN FEDIN

FROM REMINISCENCES OF GORKY

EXTRACTS

"Yes, the masses have few of the makings of culture in them, we have few culture workers, and that is why the possibility of a rapid shift from Word to Life is ruled out."

"Ruled out," Gorky repeats, placing a fullstop of finality.

But suddenly he halts, his puckered brows slightly lifting and his hand going to his moustache.

"Ruled out, I think," he adds.

Warmth suffuses his face, the creases on his cheeks grow deeper and deeper and he contradicts himself cheerfully:

"It would be completely ruled out, you see, but for a certain man. Yes, sir. There is a man who understands everything perfectly, sees everything. Perfectly".

Gorky pauses, smiling, noting with satisfaction that I understand him. Then he says with his soft, deep bass: "Lenin."

His speech passes over to a quite different key and he seems to be enjoying the music of his own words:

"Lenin is a remarkable man. A man of great intellect, surprisingly great.... He is flexible. He is both difficult and easy to speak to. You come to him with definite ideas, he hears you out and immediately puts forward all the objections that can possibly exist. He argues his case thoroughly.... And you come away convinced by him....

"Lenin's is a practical mind, which grasps everything with amazing celerity and fearlessly applies it.... Take that last speech of his about one-man management. I spoke with him about this a year ago. It was not yet considered a necessity then. Now it is. I am sure that Lenin prepared many people to accept this view before he made his speech...."

He wreathed himself in clouds of smoke. He lighted a new cigarette from the one he had just finished. His strong arms

were neatly folded, his big fingers tapered to the nails, and his cigarette and holder went well with those fingers. Every movement, however slight, even when flicking the ash from his cigarette, is unhurried, even slow, but calculated and deliberate, obviously made a man to whom aimless gestures are alien....

* * *

In the summer I saw Gorky beside Lenin.

It was in July, at the opening of the Second Congress of the Communist International. The fact that Lenin had come to the congress, that he was making a speech in a city which had recently and with great sacrifice defended its walls against the enemy, that representatives of workers' parties from all over the world had gathered there—all this made the occasion a festive triumph. But this triumph contained notes that were hard and inexorable: the struggle was still on, a life and death struggle, and the congress was held with clenched teeth, with a grim determination to fight to the last breath.

Lenin's appearance was sensational.

The sandy-yellow light of the chandeliers, subdued by the strong daylight of the plafond, seemed to intensify the excitement of the crowded hall. The oppressive heat in the palace had built up long before the congress opened. And suddenly the tension of heterogeneous lamplight and sunlight, the stuffiness and drawn-out expectancy broke in a burst of applause, which rose abruptly in the gallery, then began to merge and creep slowly downward, seizing hold of the palace and shaking it to its foundations. With head bent as if cleaving through the rush of air Lenin walked through the hall at the head of a crowd of delegates. He quickly took his seat in the platform party and nothing was seen of him while the ovation lasted. Scarcely had Lenin reappeared in the hall shortly afterwards than a fresh ovation met and followed him to his seat, and he had to face another tempest of cheering when he mounted the rostrum before he could start his speech.

Lenin's first words drew him close to his audience in a remarkably lively way. He spoke rather quietly, softly rolling his "*r*", in a high-pitched voice, uttering practical, pro-

saic words, but with unusual truly oratorical fervour. He quoted figures, raising his notes to his eyes, and everything in his words was clearly practical, without trimmings or ornamentation; but his speech, married to simple, persuasive gestures, to a mobility and lightness of the whole body, seemed fiery by its very sense, and in his practical words, like the calculations of a scientist, could be felt the heartbeat, the dream, of a new world. The congress not only followed the drift of Lenin's thoughts, but seemed to touch the very soul of Lenin with the palms of hands.

The journalists' box, in which I was sitting, was next to the platform. My eyes were glued on Lenin, and I had a feeling that I could draw his portrait from memory, had I been an artist.

I looked at him when the session was over and he made for the exit amid a crowd of delegates. It was terribly crowded and stuffy amid the press of hundreds of people trying to push their way forward to see him at closer range, and all the way through the lobbies, the round hall and the entrance-hall he was in the thick of the crowd.

Suddenly, high above him and the crowd I saw the head of Gorky. In the doorway everyone stopped and very slowly, floatingly, as it were, began to filter out into the street. Lenin and Gorky came out of the palace almost joined together by the press of the crowd, arm in arm, and here again, on the steps, the procession halted, while photographers, elbowing their way through from all sides, clicked their cameras at them, hiding from the sun under black cloths and shawls.

Gorky stood next to a column, just behind Lenin, hatless, and his head, bathed in sunlight, could be seen from afar, his name repeated all around.

I saw on Gorky's face a new expression which I did not remember having seen before. He was obviously under stress of great emotion and the effort to control it gave his always quick eyes a hardness and the folds of his cheeks an immobility. He had the look of a very masterful man, his whole face expressing the grim determination that had just sounded in Lenin's speech and which the whole congress had breathed.

Squeezed by the crowd, peering over shoulders and heads, I tried not to miss a single gesture of those two men standing

together—Lenin and Gorky. And it seemed to me that all the best I had ever thought about Gorky was at that moment embodied in him, in this proximity of his to Lenin—to the supreme comprehension of everything that was taking place in the world.

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VSEVOLOD IVANOV

MEETINGS WITH MAXIM GORKY

AN EXTRACT

On the desk lies a small magazine in blue covers—*Krasny Komandir*, devoted to the life of Petrograd's command courses. The magazine had arrived in his absence. On its cover—a brown pasted slip with a picture of Lenin. A lean Lenin with a sharp ebullient glance in his sunken eyes, sitting in an armchair. The background—an ordinary wall.

"A splendid portrait!" says Gorky. "He must have sat for it. Generally there are few paintings of Lenin. He doesn't like to pose, either for portraits or generally. It is even hard to get him photographed. Even that famous photographer Otsup was compelled to resort to a stratagem. Our people are simple and trustful. The photographer goes up to the guards with his huge camera and says: 'By arrangement with Comrade Lenin.' They let him through. Lenin sits in his study, writing. Otsup fixes up his camera on the quiet and starts clicking—once, twice. Suddenly Lenin looks up: 'Excuse me, but what are you doing here?' 'Taking photographs.' 'Go away at once!' Ha, ha!"

He glanced at the magazine again.

"Splendid portrait."

Obviously, he wanted to keep the picture for himself, but the magazine had published a story of mine "Red Day" and he handed it over to me.

"Take it, take it, they'll send me another one. And don't grieve about the magazine being such a thin one. Before the avalanche gathers, little snowballs roll down the slope. Vladimir Ilyich said a big monthly, *Krasnaya Nov*, will soon be coming out. I have been asked to edit its literary section. And I have consented."

Gorky stepped over to the window and looked out. One could see the garden surrounding the People's House. A spring wind, fragrant and riotous, shook the trees; stunned

by its gusty onset, they seemed to gasp for breath. When Gorky faced round to me he wore an expression I had never seen on his face before.

"Russians generally are sharp of speech," he said. "But on the Volga they are not only sharp, they are fiery. A fresh strong wind, for instance, they called a *vityaz*—champion. Now it was enough for Vladimir Ilyich to utter two or three sentences for that fresh strong wind to seize us. The wind of revolution! I don't know what a bird feels when it flaps its wings, but when I talk with Vladimir Ilyich I not only know it, but I fly and fly against the tempest and know that I will weather it."

He was then in his fifty-third year—roughly the same age which finds me writing these reminiscences, and it is strange to think that twenty-five years ago I had thought Gorky to be very old. He was not only old. He was wise. I thought people then much too fussy and garrulous. But with him every word was carefully weighed and pregnant with meaning. It seemed to me that he was incapable of giving way to agitation, incapable of loudly, at the top of his voice, expressing his passion, being young.

But then he started to talk about Vladimir Ilyich, and suddenly in Gorky's speech, in his whole figure, youth sprang into life, and he was not only my equal, but—as I thought with astonishment—he outdid me in youthful élan, fantasy and faith! Lenin was for him not only a kindly, all-embracing genius—he personified for him struggle. Every word of his swept over Gorky like a heavy ocean wave, and Gorky, throwing his head back and drawing the air deep into his lungs, exclaimed: "Splendid!"

And you could see that he really meant it, that he was thinking of Lenin with pleasure, with gratitude and admiration. Listening to him—as you know, he was a fascinating, brilliant raconteur—I was all aquiver with rapture.

"And his laugh! His wonderful laugh! Really, it always makes me think of a raging storm, with the ship plunging like mad, a dead sky above, your face in a cold spray—and all of a sudden you hear a clear happy voice, fully relying on you: 'Steady, my lads, carry on, ha, ha!'"

Printed from the collection
M. Gorky v vospominaniakh sovremennikov, pp. 473-75

VLADIMIR BONCH-BRUYEVICH

GORKY AND THE ORGANISATION OF THE S.W.C.

From Reminiscences

I

The year nineteen nineteen was a particularly difficult one. Civil war was raging on all the boundaries of our besieged socialist fatherland. Within the country, owing to the impossibility of ensuring proper sowing of the fields and also because that year had been a year of bad drought, there had come a time of dreadful famine....

Alexei Maximovich Gorky, who was then living in Petrograd, strained every effort to assist scientists and writers. He organised an unofficial committee for rendering aid to writers, which was built up on the remnants of the old Union of Writers; he took up with the well-known political reporter the late Lvov (Klyachko), a very active man of ready sympathy, who formed a group of persons who took upon themselves the voluntary duty of helping and interceding for scientists, writers, artists and other intellectuals of the city of Petrograd. They organised a dining room and formed a group of sisters of mercy, who made a round of the homes of scientists of advanced age unable to help themselves, treated them and carried out various domestic chores for them. In short, a special stratum of people began to form around Gorky, who voluntarily devoted their time to helping out the intelligentsia during the extreme hardships of the year 1919.

All these, however, were palliatives. It was a voluntary association, which no one had sanctioned, and moreover it was politically not altogether proper at that time, since we were well aware through Dzerzhinsky that it was being joined by disgruntled elements, who used that then so needy philanthropical soil to carry on unfriendly agitation. As a result, this unofficial society sometimes became a mouthpiece of counter-revolution and our Vecheka from time to time had

to carry out political inspections and weed out those, who, taking advantage of the country's extremely difficult straits, carried on an underhand but quite definite agitation against the established order of things. It was absolutely essential to have all this reorganised and placed within such social limits as would lend themselves to control and guidance. This question cropped up more than once in the Managing Department of the Council of People's Commissars, but owing to pressure of business we kept putting it off. Even at that time, however, Vladimir Ilyich was greatly concerned about scientists being provided with a C.P.C. ration.

2

We had scarcely spread this measure to other cities when suddenly I received at the Managing Department of the C.P.C. an application from our famous scientist I. P. Pavlov asking the government to allow him to go abroad to continue his scientific work. The thing saddened me extremely. I thought: "Have things come to such a pass when men like Pavlov have started to leave us?" I knew of Pavlov's freedom-loving views and his eminence as a scientist not only from hearsay, but from the talks I had had with him during our meetings in Petrograd at the home of A. V. Timofeyev, the well-known psychiatrist and a good friend of mine. So I went to Vladimir Ilyich and showed him the application, and gave him my opinion. Something had to be done immediately and definitely, I said.

Vladimir Ilyich used hard words blaming our Petrograd Executive Committee and those standing at the head of it for not having guessed what should be done in regard to the scientific world. And suddenly he exclaimed:

"Why, we must let all our scientists know that we want—and will positively see that it's done—all scientists to have everything they need, from personal security down to the finest laboratories, libraries and scientific workrooms. We shall have science flourishing as nowhere else in the world, absolutely freed from dependence on the capitalists and their wishes.... Science with us will really be free.... We have to put up with things now—war, war all around.... Write to him in that vein—I'd write myself, but you see, I'm snowed under...," he said, pointing to his desk piled with decoded

telegrams, letters and reports. "Only write tactfully, courteously...."

I told Vladimir Ilyich that I was personally acquainted with Professor Pavlov and had such a profound respect for him that I could not write in any other way....

"That's good, very good..." he commented, and there and then asked me for all details about Pavlov, beginning with his appearance. And I had to relate everything I knew about him.

"Apart from the letter, get the chairman of the Soviet on the direct line at once and tell him in my name and on his personal responsibility to see to it immediately that Pavlov is provided for with absolutely everything he needs in private life and for his laboratories, his animals and assistants, so that he can work without giving a thought to the surrounding need. He is of advanced age too—make a special point of that; our people may not know it...."

Vladimir Ilyich said all this with such ardour, with such a deep light in his eyes, that one felt that he wanted with all his heart and soul to come to the immediate brotherly assistance of the whole scientific world, give them everything they needed for their creative work. I was overjoyed to see Vladimir Ilyich in that frame of mind and rushed off to carry out his orders. I first of all put a call through to Petrograd and gave the chairman of the Soviet Lenin's message. I knew that they would get going there at once, as Vladimir Ilyich' s directives were always carried out willingly and gladly.

The same day I dispatched a letter by special messenger to Pavlov in Petrograd in which I briefly set forth Lenin's thoughts and asked him not to leave Russia. I told him that orders had already been given to provide him with everything he needed for his work.

From then on Vladimir Ilyich asked me every day and several times a day what had been done for Pavlov. He bade me keep a close eye on fulfilment of his orders in Petrograd.

"They are having a hard time there, the situation is very difficult, and they're likely to forget or put it off. The thing is urgent, very urgent," he kept repeating.

I listened joyfully and reported to him regularly.

3

I received from Pavlov a reply to my letter filled with indignation, deep sadness and great dignity....

I read and reread that letter. Deeply understanding and sympathising as I was with everything the eminent scientist wrote about, I went to Vladimir Ilyich and handed him the letter in silence. He began to read it quickly.

"Yes, he's right, quite right!" Vladimir Ilyich exclaimed. "He has written with amazing honesty, and we must set a high value on such people. Write to him at once that the government will take steps to improve the condition of scientists. Ask him again not to leave Russia. Think over immediately what practical steps we should take.... We shall discuss it this evening in detail."

4

I knew the meaning of Vladimir Ilyich's words "We shall discuss it in detail". It meant no waste of words, a strict business approach, clear, practical, exhaustive, embracing the question in its entirety. I wrote back to Pavlov there and then, asking him to wait a little with his departure and informing him that the government was taking serious steps to help scientists. I knew from private information that Alexei Maximovich Gorky on his own initiative was doing everything he could in Petrograd to help scientists and writers survive the famine. And I suggested to Vladimir Ilyich that Gorky be called to Moscow and placed at the head of a special society for rendering relief to scientists and writers. I told Vladimir Ilyich everything I knew about Gorky's activities in this direction and the popularity which he enjoyed in Petrograd among scientists. I suggested that urgent orders be given to the People's Commissariat for Food to dispatch a special transport of food to Petrograd for the relief of writers and scientists. The Commissar of Finance was to remit the necessary funds, and Gorky, of course, as always, would have enough people to handle the business, which would be got going in full swing on the voluntary basis. From there we could spread it to all other places. Vladimir Ilyich accepted the idea, increased, tripled the scope of activities and immediately outlined he future countrywide

organisation that was to embrace all the workers of science, art and literature.

It was here, in fact, that the idea of the S.W.C. (Scientists' Welfare Commission) was first outlined and its organisation set on foot—a society which is now taking excellent care of the people it caters to, and rendering them great benefit. We immediately invited over Gorky, whom Vladimir Ilyich had not seen for some time and against whom he had had something of a grievance arising from the mental reservations which had inevitably cropped up during the painful years of emigration as a result of theoretical differences. But Vladimir Ilyich did not allow personal relationships to interfere with public affairs, and he grumbled at Gorky rather than felt any anger towards him. "It will be a very good thing," I thought. "This tremendous business that is now being discussed will draw Gorky closer to Lenin again."

Gorky shortly arrived. I ushered him into Vladimir Ilyich's office....

Gorky gave Vladimir Ilyich a detailed account of the horrors of life, which that most vulnerable and most cultured section of our society—its distinguished scientists and writers—had to endure in a struggle for existence for which they were unfitted. He enumerated dozens of names of people who were no more, who, in those terrible conditions that existed io Petrograd, had perished, died, and of people who were about to die. He spoke about those that could still be saved if given nourishment and care, and Vladimir Ilyich heard all this out with unflagging attention. He told Gorky that everything possible had to be done to help these specialists, writers and scientists survive those hard years of our time, and that he hoped that Alexei Maximovich, by taking charge of this business, would with the help of his friends organise everything the way it should be. This relief was to be a regular and steady thing, to which he would give his strong support. There and then Vladimir Ilyich instructed me to bring this to the notice of the Executive Committee Chairman in Petrograd and also Comrade Badayev and all other Petrograd authorities, and in Moscow of Tsyurupa, People's Commissar of Food, who was to be asked in Lenin's name to give the greatest and most attentive assistance to the business of relief for writers and scientists of Petrograd in the first instance, and then of Moscow and other cities.

"If only we beat all these interventions, all these internal revolts of the kulaks, landowners and bourgeoisie, we shall then see to it that our workers of science, culture, art and literature are all provided for as nowhere else in the world. It is to us that scientists will be coming to undertake all kinds of researches, to avail themselves of the best laboratories and facilities for research work on the most urgent problems," he said to Gorky, repeating an idea he had expressed before.

This talk between Gorky and Lenin lasted quite a time. Gorky came away, as I then clearly saw it, quite satisfied, full of energy, pleased with the cordial and frank conversation.

Alexei Maximovich left the C.P.C. with that glad smile of his that became him so well. And I knew that he was glad about this new business that had been started, glad that relations with Vladimir Ilyich had been reestablished. From that day the work of rendering relief to scientists was in full swing.

Pavlov no longer renewed his request to be allowed to go abroad. His work was making good headway. Vladimir Ilyich for a long time kept asking about Pavlov and "the Gorky business", as he called it, and always saw to it that current needs in the matter of relief for scientists and writers were fully satisfied.

During that period of the revolution it was often difficult to carry out things that had been decided on, leave alone planned. Knowing this, Vladimir Ilyich not only helped to meet all the needs of the commission, but repeatedly inquired and kept track of what was being done and whether this or that decision was being carried out and did not just remain on paper.

I should like to note here that whenever there was occasion to report to Vladimir Ilyich on personal requests received from members of the scientific and literary world, he not only gave them his closest attention, but found ways and means of granting them. Neither do I know of a single case when Vladimir Ilyich had not voted emphatically "for" the issue of a grant to a needy scientist, or a pension to his family, or providing special priorities and favourable terms to scientists travelling about the country or abroad, ordering books, etc....

We made arrangements with Alexei Maximovich for the necessary reports and accounts to be submitted to the Council of People's Commissars and came to an understanding on all other questions. He informed us that he was appointing Lvov (Klyachko) secretary of the whole organisation as a man who had genuinely dedicated himself to rendering assistance to scientists, writers and generally the intelligentsia. Vladimir Ilyich ordered a fairly considerable sum to be transferred to the account of Gorky, which he needed for organising dining rooms, buying the necessary furniture, utensils, and so on.

Gorky not only properly organised in Petrograd relief for scientists, who were infinitely grateful to the government for the care it showed them, but efficiently organised accountancy as well. Every month he sent in a carefully prepared account of all sums and materials expended, together with reports on all the affairs that had been entrusted to him. I kept all these documents carefully filed away in the archives of the Managing Department of the C.P.C. and they should be found and handed over to the Gorky archives under the Academy of Sciences.

Vladimir Ilyich constantly inquired about the activities of the Scientists' Welfare Commission and those of Gorky in particular, and often voiced the thought about how important it was for every person to find an occupation of his own.

"Take Alexei Maximovich, who used to stand on the side lines and did not belong to any big organisation—now he is wholly absorbed in this big, useful and admirable business."

Thanks to these activities of his, Gorky came to Moscow fairly often and always called on us at the C.P.C., met Vladimir Ilyich there and gave us a cordial welcome at his own home—all those comrades from both the C.P.C. and the Food Commissariat and other organisations involved in this important job. And he never missed a single chance of talking about the realities of the life that went on around us.

Vladimir Ilyich too visited Gorky at his flat several times. Unfortunately, Gorky fell seriously ill with pneumonia and his doctors insisted on his going south.

When Vladimir Ilyich heard about this—and he at that time kept a close watch on Gorky's state of health—he immediately wrote him a persuasive letter, asking him to turn

over Commission affairs to other people and, after making proper preparations, to go abroad, to Italy, to Capri. He gave orders for passports to be prepared for Gorky and his family who were to be given a lounge-car and foreign currency, and everything esle he needed to make the journey in comfort.

By that time Gorky had had drawn up in detail a catalogue for the planned Vsemirnaya Literatura Publishing House which was to have books in the Russian language published in Berlin and imported into Russia, since we were hard up for paper at home and there was very little hope of our being able soon to mend this state of affairs.

When Vladimir Ilyich learned of this he immediately asked for the catalogue to be sent to him. He made a careful study of it and said that it was done in a masterly fashion, that everything listed in it had to be published, that it was badly needed for the education of our broad masses, and that what he liked in particular was the excellent way in which the catalogue of the future publishing house had handled not only the Russian literature section, but also the sections of foreign literature in Russian translations, which were just as essential for the education of the country.

"I am very glad that Alexei Maximovich has managed to plan this tremendously important business and compile such a splendid catalogue. We must help him in this matter in every way we can. It will be useful for our mass readership and will give Alexei Maximovich a chance of applying his energy there, abroad, as be could never live without something practical to do," Vladimir Ilyich added. "He must always be busy with something: either a magazine, or a publishing business. And now this splendid list of literature."

Shortly afterwards the question came up before a special meeting of the Narrow Council of People's Commissars and a fairly substantial sum in foreign currency was earmarked for the organisation of this business abroad.

9/V-41

Printed from an authorised typewritten copy
(Manuscripts Department of the Lenin State Library)

A. K. VORONSKY

MEETINGS AND TALKS WITH MAXIM GORKY

From Reminiscences

Early in 1921, when still in Ivanovo-Voznesensk, I decided to try my hand at a "thick" literary monthly. The Civil War was over and there were greater opportunities than before for devoting attention to art. Prose fiction was almost completely absent, nor could poetry boast of successes. The abstract schematism of *Kuznitsa* was obviously unsuitable. It was necessary to gather old and young writers who were prepared to work for the good of the Soviets and create for that purpose a proper literary milieu. I put all these thoughts before Vladimir Ilyich, who found them quite timely.

I moved over to Moscow from Ivanovo, where I had been editing *Rabochy Krai*, and set about organising a monthly magazine. It was no easy task. Both at the State Publishers and among many high-ranking executives the view was held that publication of a periodical was hardly feasible in view of the paper shortage and the confusion that reigned in the printing business. Besides, there was the question: What writers could be enlisted? The great majority of old writers did not "accept" Soviet government, and so far we had none too many of our own writers. These and similar opinions were expressed on many occasions. I did not agree with them and went on seeking support from Vladimir Ilyich and Nadezhda Konstantinovna, who was in charge of Chief Political Education Department. It was they who advised me to contact Gorky and try to get him on the editorial staff.

Vladimir Ilyich himself suggested a preliminary narrow editorial meeting in his rooms. This meeting was shortly held. It was in February. It was attended by Vladimir Ilyich, Nadezhda Konstantinovna, Gorky and myself. Vladimir Ilyich had just come away from a late meeting of the C.P.C. and was hastily drinking his evening tea; besides this meeting of ours he had to conduct another at the Council

of Labour and Defence. Despite the busy day he had had he did not look tired and kept up a lively conversation, asking questions, screwing up his eyes, chuckling. Gorky did not take his eyes off him, he drank in his every gesture, his whole strong sturdy figure. Vladimir Ilyich was very attentive to Gorky, asked him about his health, on what he was working, and when Gorky remarked that he was unable to work the way he wanted because of life's botherments, Vladimir Ilyich shook his head and urged Gorky to get rid of these botherments as soon as he could and write, write; here he made a vigorous gesture with his hand over the table to hammer home his words. Gorky had brought with him a gift for Vladimir Ilyich—a parcel of books published by him in cooperation with Grzhebin in Berlin. The books had been published in Russian with material aid from the Soviet authorities. Vladimir Ilyich glanced through the books. I was struck by the way he handled books. I remember how he would pick up a book, glance through it and toss it aside with a quick movement.

All this was done in a free, easy manner, energetically. It showed both a love for books and an ability to form an idea of a book's contents by scanning the headings, or a few lines, glancing at the illustrations and drawings—and a long-standing familiarity with the printed word. Vladimir Ilyich commented favourably on a work dealing with engine-building and turned over the pages of a volume of ancient Indian fairy tales. It was a beautifully published book. Gorky stood next to Vladimir Ilyich, a tall, angular figure with a sunken chest and sallow complexion. By comparison, Vladimir Ilyich, in his chair, resembled a living dynamo of mobile force. At that moment Gorky reminded me of a pupil standing before his teacher, not a strict teacher, but one of authority with an overpowering creative personality. Screwing up his eye and pointing at the book of fairy tales Vladimir Ilyich said, rolling, or rather half-swalowing his "*r*" in that own inimitable way of his: "I think this is premature."

Gorky leaned over towards Lenin and said: "They are very good stories."

"Our Soviet money is being spent on them," Vladimir Ilyich said.

"The book didn't cost us dear."

"Yes, but gold currency went for it. We have little of it. And the country is facing a famine."

Gorky tugged his moustache and hunched his shoulders, leaning on the book, which was placed edgewise on the table.

Two truths: one seeming to say "Man does not live by bread alone"; the other, Lenin's, saying: "But if there is a shortage of bread...."

I often afterwards recalled that brief memorable conversation, and Lenin's truth has always seemed to me deeper than the truth of art and more in the interest of the working people.

As regards *Krasnaya Nov*, it was decided that I was to be the editor-in-chief of the magazine, which was to be published by Chief Political Education Department and printed by the State Publishers. Gorky consented to edit the Arts Section.

A few days later I called on Gorky at his Moscow flat in Mashkov Pereulok to discuss the magazine in detail. He wasn't quite so affable this time. I often noticed subsequently that Gorky was rather erratic in his attitude to people. Very often this was due to his state of health: he suffered from tuberculosis and had the use of only one lung. The cause of his present lack of affability in my case was my display of too great fervour in editorial matters with which I was none too conversant. Gorky noticed this and began to drum his fingers on the table with a faraway look and to answer curtly and gruffly. I left him feeling grieved and kept away for over a week, although circumstances called for a meeting.

The next time Gorky met me with great cordiality. Rubbing his hands and smiling into his thick moustache, he questioned me in detail as to the progress of editorial work. The question arose of getting prose writers and poets to contribute to the magazine.

"Find the poets yourself," Gorky murmured. "As for prose writers, there is a young set in Petrograd called the 'Serapion Brothers'. They are decidedly gifted young men. There is a Vsevolod Ivanov among them, for instance; a Siberian with a big round head; high cheekbones, small eyes, Asiatic; thick hair, a great mop of it, a regular fearsome idol. This Vsevolod Ivanov has wandered around a good deal, has seen and experienced much. A talented beggar, though still a bit raw. You must get to know him closer. By the way, I shall soon be visiting Petrograd, and I'll try to get something from the 'Serapionov Brothers' for the magazine....

"Another man you must hunt out is Boris Pilnyak. He's talented, too, but inclined to be feckless."

I pointed out that I knew Pilnyak as author of the volume of short stories *Truth* and other stories. I had written about him in *Rabochy Krai*.

"Be sure to get him. He lives in Kolomna.... Has a good feeling for country life.... You should also try to find Podyachev and Ivan Volnov. They know the countryside and write about it in its true colours."

I came away from Gorky loaded up with advice and wishes. Ever since then we were on easy friendly terms with each other.

Alexei Maximovich shortly left for Petrograd and sent in Vsevolod Ivanov's long short-story *Partisans* and several manuscripts: a drama by Lunts, short stories by Nikolai Nikitin and Mikhail Zoshchenko. *Partisans* was written by hand on grey ruled paper and was full of stylistic errors and misspellings. But it was the first article to give, not an abstract, but a graphic, lively and talented description of the Siberian freebooters. Gorky had made a note on the manuscript that it should be vetted. I put in some heavy work on it. Lunts' drama *Outlawed*, with its obviously anarchic style and individualist mood, caused me real distress. When Gorky arrived from Petrograd I couldn't bring myself for a long time to tell him that the play could not be printed, at least not in the first issues of the magazine. In the end I had to tell him. Gorky's face darkened and he began to drum his fingers on the table.

"Just as you like.... Just as you like.... It's none of my business...."

He fell silent and gazed at the bridge of my nose. But I had another "move" up my sleeve. I told Gorky that I had managed to get from Lenin a lengthy article "The Tax in Kind" and that I had articles by Krupskaya, Pokrovsky, Bukharin and some well-known scientists. Gorky cheered up at once, especially when he heard about Lenin's article. Finally, he said: "I don't insist on Lunts' drama, he's quite a youngster, but talented as the devil."

There was no end of trouble with that magazine. The State Publishers had no paper; printing houses worked with frequent stoppages. Books were in production for two years. The country was in the grip of typhus and famine. Author's emoluments were fixed by Chief Political Education Department at the beggarly rate of sixty thousand rubles per printed sheet of fortythousand units, or roughly 2 rubles 60

kopeks in present-day currency. To get contributors you had to obtain food rations for them, pay them in kind. To obtain these rations I applied to the Presidium of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and managed to secure a note in Gorky's name to the Supply Department, where I was to receive butter, sugar, meat and tinned food. In the Supply Department some Lett—I don't remember his name now—read the note and shook his head disapprovingly.

"Why is so much given to a single person? A pood of butter, a pood of sugar, three poods of meat. Honey too. What's Gorky going to do with all that stuff? We don't give Lenin half as much."

To get done with it I answered:

"Gorky is ill."

"If he's ill," the man answered judiciously, "we have a special sickness norm. And we'll issue products to Gorky in accordance with that norm." Saying which he reached out for the sheet on which this norm was typed. In short, he refused to issue the products to me. I was obliged to apply again to the Presidium of the All-Russia C.E.C. and the people in charge there were involved in a long argument with that obstinate and finicky Supply Manager. In the end he issued the products due to me but cut down some of the items at his own discretion. The sacks containing the products had to be lugged down out of the Kremlin gates and left there under the care of the guards while I went in search of a cab. I found one with difficulty and carted my "haul" down to my room at the First House of Soviets. As ill luck would have it, the weather suddenly thawed and the products between the windows and on the window sill began to melt and run. The meat formed a pink puddle on the parqueted floor. I stared at it in blank horror and hurried off to Alexei Maximovich for sympathy and advice. That evening we carefully distributed the products among scientists and other contributors to the magazine at the rate of 4 lbs of sugar, I lb. of honey, 5 lbs of meat, 2 lbs of butter, etc. That was how it worked out roughly per person. Gorky had no share in this handout, although he was anything but well off at that time, and quite a lot of people used to share his board.

One day I took a walk through Alexandrovsky Park. It was a fine summer day, radiant with blue skies and sunshine despite the city dust and soot. The Kremlin stood like an ancient materialised saga. Gothic, Byzantium, Asia, Europe,

and Rus were quaintly entwined into a stone diadem. As in the days of yore the magnificent towers stood like faithful sentinels, only now they were guarding the red-bannered homeland. Under a lime-tree that exhaled a delicious, heady fragrance, sat Gorky, huddled, smoking a cigarette and watching the passers-by. He wore a soft wide-brimmed hat. It struck me for the first time that in profile Gorky in some features resembled Nietzshe—that heavy walrus moustache, the firm chin, the deep-set eyes, prominent cheekbones and rugged features. Sitting back on the garden seat, he closely studied the passers-by.

I went up to him and asked what he was doing in the park.

"I went to have dinner in the Kremlin canteen and drop in here to have a rest.... Getting old, I'm afraid.... Short-winded, and generally.... All kinds of afflictions. Doctors say I should give up smoking. It seems to me that if I give up smoking I'll die right away. And I don't feel like dying yet."

He suddenly brightened, smiled and placed an arm lightly round my shoulder.

"Ekh, man alive! You know.... I tell you—" he did not finish. His whole figure emanated warmth and good feeling.

Those words were pregnant with deep meaning. They made one derive a special pleasure from contemplation of that fine summer day, of the Kremlin walls, of those lime-trees, of the trainees of the Kremlin guard, glimpsed here and there on the paths, and of this tall, angular, unwieldy-looking man.

"Mind you, the same doctors tell me that it's about time for me to take a stroll abroad, to sit around in Italy. Good for my health, they say. Besides, I've got to write. Here I just can't get down properly to work. I'll soon be leaving.... What Lenin thinks of it? He approves and promises to help."

I saw Gorky off to his house in Mashkov Pereulok. He walked along with hunched shoulder, hat pulled lower over his forehead and avoiding meeting the glances of passers-by. It seemed to me that he found it unpleasant whenever he was recognised and stared at.

Before long, in the autumn, Alexei Maximovich did go abroad.

Printed from the original
(A. M. Gorky archives)

NOTES

[1] Gorky's letter to Gapon was an answer to Gapon's project for organising a workers' party in Russia without the intelligentsia, which meant in actual fact isolation of the workers from the influence of the Social-Democratic Party.

Being unaware of the true character of Gapon's activity, since Gapon was exposed as a police agent only at the beginning of 1906, Gorky tried to show Gapon that his attitude was false: "I regard your work as harmful, ill-considered and splitting the proletariat's forces." (Gorky archives.)

In 1906 Gorky wrote an essay "The Priest Gapon" in which he exposed Gapon's connections with the tsarist police and described him as a political adventurer. (Gorky's archives.)

p. 15

[2] Gorky joined the Party in the second half of 1905. In 1917 Gorky had a disagreement with the Bolsheviks on the question of the timeliness of the socialist revolution in Russia. Later Gorky renounced the wrong position he had held in 1917-18 but formally remained outside the Party.

In 1928 Gorky was asked at a meeting why he was not a Party member. He answered:

"If I had been asked to join the Party, I tell you frankly, I would have considered it a great honour, but I think that objectively it is useful for me to remain somewhere near the Party in the role of a kind of partisan because in this case other people listen to me too and rather attentively at that. I know this and so consider this position objectively more useful to your cause which I will serve to as much as is in my power, and which I must serve." (Speech delivered on June 6, 1928, in the Kukhmisterov Club at a meeting of worker and peasant correspondents. *Raboche-Krestyansky Korrespondent* No. 11, July 15, 1928.)

Remaining formally outside the Party Gorky strove to pursue the Party line in all his work.

In 1932 refusing to contribute to a foreign magazine he gave as his motive that the magazine "drastically contradicted his views of a Bolshevik and Communist". (A letter to Henri Barbusse. Gorky archives.)

p. 15

[3] Lenin and Meshkovsky (I. P. Goldenberg) were delegates to the International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart (August 1907). It has not been established where the letter was written. p. 16

[4] Gorky was not present at the Stuttgart Congress. p. 16

Proletary—a Bolshevik illegal newspaper, published from August 21 (September 3), 1906 to November 28 (December 11), under the editorship of Lenin. Fifty issues appeared. The first 20 issues were prepared for the press and set in Vyborg. Then, due to the extremely unfavourable conditions for the publication of an illegal organ in Russia, the publication of *Proletary* was transferred abroad by the decision of its editorial board (Nos. 21-40 were published in Geneva, Nos. 41-50 in Paris). *Proletary* was, in fact, the Central Organ of the Bolsheviks.

During the years of the Stolypin reaction (1907-10) the newspaper played an important role in preserving and strengthening the Bolshevik organisations and combatting the liquidators, otzovists, ultimatumists and god-builders. p. 17

[6] In October-December 1907 Gorky travelled in Italy (Florence, Rome). In Florence he made the acquaintance of A. V. Lunacharsky. p. 17

[7] This refers to the first volume of the three-volume edition of Lenin's *Works* under the general title of *Twelve Years*, the publication of which was begun in 1907. Because of the censorship restrictions in the years of reaction only the first volume and the first part of the second were put out. p. 17

[8] Delivery of *Proletary* to Russia was arranged through Gorky and M. F. Andreyeva in the early months of 1908, but hitches occurred owing to police persecution. In a letter to the socialist M. P. Morgari, editor of *Avanti!*, Gorky wrote at the beginning of May 1908 that two parcels of *Proletary* had been sequestered in Genoa and asked for an explanation of that "strange misunderstanding".

Gorky's letter was published in *Avanti!* on May 18, and on May 25 the same paper announced that the ban on *Proletary* had been lifted. p. 20

[9] *Mensheviks*—adherents of the petty-bourgeois opportunist trend in the Russian Social-Democratic movement. They came to be called Mensheviks because at the elections of the central Party bodies at the Second Party Congress they got a minority (Russian: *menshinstvo*) while the representatives of revolutionary Marxism grouped around Lenin got the majority (Russian: *bolshinstvo*) hence their name Bolsheviks.

During the first Russian revolution of 1905-1907 the Mensheviks came out against the proletariat playing the leading role in the revolution; denied the revolutionary role of the peasantry as an ally of the proletariat and opposed the idea of the bourgeois-democratic revolution developing into a socialist revolution. During the years of reaction (1907-10) following the defeat of the revolution they preached liquidationism.

During the World War I (1914-18), they became social-chauvinists. When the tsarist autocracy was overthrown in February 1917 they gave their full support to the bourgeois Provisional Government and fought the mounting proletarian revolution. After the October Revolution they became an openly counter-revolutionary Party which organised and took part in plots and revolts aimed at overthrowing Soviet power. p. 22

[10] N. A. Semashko was arrested in Geneva at the end of January 1908. Lenin's statement was published in the newspaper *Berner Tagwacht* No. 29, February 5, 1908. p. 22

[11] This refers to I. F. Dubrovinsky (Party names: Innokenty, Inok) the third editor of *Proletary*. p. 22

[12] Gorky's *Notes on Philistinism* were published in October-November 1905. p. 22

[13] *Novaya Zhizn*—the first legal Bolshevik daily newspaper published in St. Petersburg from October 27 (November 9) to December 3 (16), 1905. The official publishing editor was the poet N. M. Minsky, and the publisher was M. F. Andreyeva. Lenin took over the editorship upon his return to St. Petersburg from emigration early in November 1905. The newspaper was actually the Central Organ of the R.S.D.L.P. Among the main contributors to the newspaper were V. V. Vorovsky, M. S. Olminsky, and A. V. Lunacharsky. Gorky also contributed articles and gave the paper great financial aid. The paper's circulation reached 80,000.

Novaya Zhizn was constantly persecuted. Fifteen of its twenty-seven issues were confiscated and destroyed. It was banned after the publication of issue No. 27. The last issue, No. 28, was published illegally. p. 23

[14] At the beginning of 1908 Gorky was finishing his tale *Confession*. Lenin did not know its content. p. 23

[15] This refers to the statement Gorky intended to make to the press in connection with the arrest of Semashko in Geneva. p. 24

[16] The article "On Cynicism" was written by Gorky for the French magazine *Les documents du progrès* and first published in the symposium *Literaturny Raspad* (Literary Disintegration) (St. Petersburg, 1908) and later in the March issue of the same French magazine. p. 24

[17] Gorky's letter to Henryk Sienkiewicz of January 30, 1908, was an answer to the questionnaire issued by the latter on the attitude to seizure of the Poznan landowners' estates by the Prussian government. Sienkiewicz published 252 answers to his questionnaire in book form in Paris but failed to include Gorky's reply.

Gorky wrote to Sienkiewicz that he highly appreciated his talent as an artist, but, considering that an artist "must know who the enemy of the people is", he protested against Sienkiewicz

appealing to Wilhelm II with such arguments as the "peaceful" behaviour of the Poles who were not "kindling the fire of revolution", but punctually paying their taxes and providing soldiers for the Prussian army. "These words give me reason to doubt the strength of your love for the Polish people," Gorky wrote in conclusion. (Gorky archives.) p. 24

[18] *Kwakalla*—a jocular name for the village of Kuokkala in Finland where Lenin lived in May-November 1907. p. 25

[19] *Empirio-criticism or Machism*—a subjective-idealist trend of bourgeois philosophy which sprang up in Germany and Austria in the second half of the nineteenth century. Its founders were the Austrian physicist Ernst Mach and the German philosopher Richard Avenarius. Empirio-criticism rejected the objective existence of the material world and its laws. At the basis of the empirio-critics' views lies an idealist conception of experience (hence the expression philosophy of "critical experience") which they understand as the sum total of human experiences and perceptions independent of the outside world.

In his book *Materialism and Empirio-criticism* Lenin sharply criticised the teaching of Mach and his Russian followers—A. A. Bogdanov, V. A. Bazarov and others.

Empirio-monism—a variety of empirio-criticism in Russia originated by A. A. Bogdanov. p. 26

[20] This refers to the refusal of E. Ferri, the then leader of the centrist majority of the Italian Socialist Party, to edit *Avantil*, Central Organ of the Party. p. 27

[21] The reference is to a meeting on Capri (on Gorky's initiative) of Lenin, A. A. Bogdanov, V. A. Bazarov and I. I. Skvortsov-Stepanov to discuss questions of publishing activity and also theoretical questions. The meeting took place in April 1908 (I. I. Skvortsov-Stepanov was not present). Lunacharsky, who was at that time on Capri, attended the meeting. p. 28

[22] The reference is to the Fifth Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., held between April 30-May 19 (May 13-June 1), 1907. p. 29

[23] *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata*—a newspaper, the organ of the Mensheviks abroad, published from February 1908 to December 1911 first in Geneva, then in Paris. Its editors were P. B. Axelrod, F. I. Dan, L. Martov, A. Martynov and G. V. Plekhanov. From the first issue the paper came out in defence of the liquidators by justifying their anti-Party activity. When Plekhanov, who was against its liquidationist stand, resigned from its editorial board the paper finally became the ideological centre of the liquidators. p. 30

[24] Lenin is referring to the group of empirio-critics and empirio-monists, A. Bogdanov, V. Bazarov and A. V. Lunacharsky, who

were adherents of the reactionary, idealist philosophy of Mach and Avenarius. p. 30

[25] *Die Neue Zeit*—a theoretical journal of the German Social-Democratic Party published in Stuttgart from 1883 to 1923.
From the late 1890s, after Engels' death, the journal systematically published articles by revisionists. 30

[26] Lenin writes of the article "Disintegration of the Individual", the first version of which Gorky proposed for *Proletary* as a series of articles. p. 31

[27] Lenin refers to a collection of articles by V. Bazarov, Y. Berman, A. Lunacharsky, P. Yushkevich, A. Bogdanov, O. Gelfond and S. Suvorov. p. 31

[28] *Zarya* (Dawn)—a Marxist scientific and political journal, published by the *Iskra* editorial board from 1901 to 1902. Four issues (three books) were published. p. 31

[29] The reference is to Lenin's book *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*, published in Geneva in May 1904. p. 31

[30] This refers to A. Bogdanov's book: *Empirio-monism* (Moscow, 1904, 1st issue). p. 31

[31] A collection of articles by A. Lunacharsky, V. Bazarov, A. Bogdanov, P. Maslov, A. Finn, V. Shulyatikova, V. Fritche, and others, published in St. Petersburg in 1904. The articles by G. V. Plekhanov and Lenin did not appear in the book. p. 32

[32] *Notes of an Ordinary Marxist on Philosophy*—a work written by Lenin in 1906 in connection with A. Bogdanov's book *Empirio-monism* (3rd issue) has not been found. p. 32

[33] At that time Lenin had begun to write his work *Materialism and Empirio-criticism*. p. 33

[34] *State Duma*—a representative institution which the tsarist government was compelled to convene under the impact of the revolutionary events of 1905. Formally the Duma was a legislative body, but in practice it had no real power. Elections to the Duma were indirect and unequal and franchise was not universal. The electoral rights of the working classes and the non-Russian nationalities living in Russia were considerably restricted; a large part of the workers and peasants were deprived of them altogether.
The First Duma (April-July 1906) and the Second Duma (February-June 1907) were dissolved by the tsarist government. On June 3, 1907, the government organised a coup d'état and issued a new electoral law, which further restricted the rights of the workers, peasants and the urban petty-bourgeoisie and provided for the complete domination of the reactionary bloc of landowners and big capitalists in the Third and Fourth Dumas (1907-12 and 1912-17).

Social-Democrats (Bolsheviks) used the Duma rostrum for exposing to the masses the tsarist policy and the hypocrisy of the bourgeois-liberal parties who called themselves opposition but actually supported tsarism. p. 34

[35] The reference is to the date of the session of the International Socialist Bureau (Executive Organ of the Second International) at which Lenin represented the R.S.D.L.P. p. 36

[36] This refers to a journal which was to be published by Gorky. The project did not materialise. p. 39

[37] The reference is to the book: *Materialism and Empirio-criticism.* p. 40

[38] Lenin is referring to his article "Marxism and Revisionism" published in the symposium *Karl Marx—1818-1883*, in which he stated for the first time in print that he would soon write a series of articles or a separate book directed against the neo-Humist and neo-Berkeleyan revisionists—A. Bogdanov, V. Bazarov and others. p. 42

[39] This letter to A. Lunacharsky has not been found. p. 43

[40] The reference is to a letter written by V. A. Karpinsky, who was then in charge of the library collected by the Social-Democrat G. A. Kuklin. This library (Biblioteka russkogo proletariya—Library of the Russian Proletarian), a book depot and a printing press were transferred by G. A. Kuklin to the full ownership of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. in July 1905. p. 45

[41] Z. A. Peshkov (see p. 204 of this book) p. 45

[42] V. K. Taratuta. p. 45

[43] Natalya Bogdanovna—A. A. Bogdanov's wife. p. 45

[44] The reference is to V. A. Levitsky, a close friend of the Ulyanovs, who worked as a physician at Podolsk in 1908. There are no records of Lenin's trip to Krasnoyarsk in that year. p. 46

[45] *Znaniye*— a book publishing firm founded in St. Petersburg in 1898 by a group of writers; Gorky joined it in the early 1900s and virtually became its leader.

Lenin refers to V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich, who first worked in the publishing houses Vperyod and Znaniye and later founded the publishing house Zhizn i Znaniye. p. 46

[46] The reference is to K. P. Pyatnitsky, the managing director of Znaniye Publishers. p. 46

[47] In his telegram of November 2, 1908, K. P. Pyatnitsky announced that Lenin's sister A. I. Yelizarova proposed for publication by Znaniye Lenin's book: *Materialism and Empirio-criticism* and that I. I. Skvortsov-Stepanov, V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich and V. A. Bazarov favoured the publication of this book. p. 47

[48] This refers to a school on Capri organised by A. A. Bogdanov, G. A. Alexinsky and A. V. Lunacharsky in 1909 with the participation of Gorky. Lenin refused to deliver lectures at this school as it was a faction centre of the otzovists, ultimatumists and god-builders.

In his letter to the students of the Capri school Lenin motivated his refusal to participate in an anti-Party enterprise. (See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 15.)

The school functioned for about four months. In November 1909 a group of students headed by N. Y. Vilonov dissociated themselves from the Bogdanovites. They sent the editorial board of *Proletary* a protest against the anti-Party behaviour of lecturers and as a result they were expelled from the school. On Lenin's invitation they went to Paris, where they attended lectures, including those of Lenin. In December 1909 a group of students remaining on Capri formed together with their lecturers the anti-Party Vperyod group.

At a conference of the extended editorial board of *Proletary* the Capri school was denounced as "a new centre of a faction which has broken away from the Bolsheviks". p. 48

[49] This letter is printed from the type-written copy with Gorky's corrections, but without a signature. Lenin obviously received another copy of the letter.

Gorky soon changed his former negative opinion of N. Y. Vilonov. Later, in the essay "Mikhail Vilonov" Gorky gave a correct characterisation of this Bolshevik worker. p. 50

[50] This refers to the Bolshevik newspaper *Proletary*. p. 51

[51] See pp. 216-19 of this book: *Notes of a Publicist*. "The 'Platform' of the Adherents and Defenders of Otzovism".

Diskussionny Listok was a supplement to the Central Organ of the R.S.D.L.P. *Sotsial-Demokrat*, published from 1910 to 1911. Three issues appeared.

Sotsial-Demokrat was published from February 1908 to January 1917. Fifty-eight issues were put out. The first issue was published in Russia, then the publication of the paper was transferred to Paris, and later to Geneva. From 1911 it was edited by Lenin. p. 54

[52] *Liquidationism*—an opportunist trend prevalent among the Mensheviks after the defeat of the first Russian revolution of 1905-07. The representatives of this trend demanded the liquidation of the revolutionary illegal party of the proletariat and the creation in its stead of an opportunist party carrying out legal work permitted by the tsarist government. Lenin and other Bolsheviks untiringly exposed the liquidators as betraying the cause of the revolution. At the Prague Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. (January 1912) the liquidators were expelled from the Party.

Otzovism—an opportunist trend formed among a small section of the Bolsheviks after the defeat of the revolution of 1905-07. Under the cover of revolutionary phrases the otzovists (A. A. Bogdanov, G. A. Alexinsky, A. V. Lunacharsky, M. N. Lyadov

and others) demanded that the Social-Democratic deputies in the Third Duma should be recalled and work in the legal organisations stopped. Declaring that at the time of reaction the Party should conduct only illegal work they refused to sit in the Duma or work in the trade unions, co-operative societies and other mass legal and semi-legal organisations and considered it necessary to concentrate all Party work within the framework of an illegal organisation. A variety of otzovism was ultimatumism. p. 54

[53] The ("Unity") Plenum of the C.C. R.S.D.L.P. was held from January 15 to February 5, 1910 in Paris. p. 54

[54] The reference is to pro-Party Mensheviks—a small group of Mensheviks headed by G. V. Plekhanov who broke away from the Menshevik liquidators and opposed liquidationism. p. 55

[55] *Golos people* (*Golosists*)—Menshevik liquidators grouped around *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata*, their organ abroad. p. 55

[56] *Nasha Zarya* (Our Dawn)—a legal monthly journal of the Menshevik liquidators, published in St. Petersburg from January 1910 to September 1914. It became a rallying centre of the liquidationists in Russia. p. 55

[57] The reference is to the "Open Letter" by a group of the leading Mensheviks who proposed the liquidation of the Party. p. 55

[58] *Dnevnik Sotsial-Demokrata*—a non-periodical organ published by G. V. Plekhanov in Geneva from March 1905 to April 1912 (with big intervals). Sixteen issues were put out. Publication was resumed in 1916 in Petrograd, but only one issue appeared. p. 55

[59] *Vperyodists*—members of the Vperyod anti-Party group consisting of otzovists, ultimatumists, god-builders and empirio-monists. The group was organised in December 1909 on the initiative of A. A. Bogdanov and G. A. Alexinsky after the collapse of the otzovist-ultimatumist faction centre—the Capri school; the group had its press organ *Vperyod*. In 1912 they formed with the Menshevik liquidators and Trotskyists an anti-Party bloc (the August bloc) directed against the Bolsheviks.

Having no support among the workers the group practically collapsed in 1913. It disintegrated completely after the February bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1917. p. 55

[60] *Socialist-Revolutionaries* (S.R.s)—a petty-bourgeois party in Russia; formed in late 1901-early 1902 as a result of the amalgamation of various Narodnik groups and circles. The S.R.s failed to see the class distinctions between the proletariat and small proprietors; they glossed over the class differentiation and contradictions among the peasants, and rejected the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution.

The Bolshevik Party exposed the attempts of the S.R.s to camouflage as socialists, and waged an unremitting struggle against S.R.s for influence over the peasantry, exposed the harmfulness of their tactics of individual terrorism for the working-class movement. At the same time the Bolsheviks under definite circumstances came to temporary agreement with S.R.s in the struggle against tsarism.

During the Stolypin reaction (1907-10) the S.R. party was in a state of complete disintegration ideologically and organisationally. During World War I (1914-18) most of the S.R.s took a social-chauvinist stand.

After the victory of the February bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1917, the S.R.s, together with the Mensheviks and Cadets, were the mainstay of the counter-revolutionary Provisional Government of the bourgeoisie and the landowners and the leaders of the Party (Kerensky, Avksentyev, Chernov) were its ministers.

During the foreign armed intervention and the Civil War the S.R.s carried on counter-revolutionary subversive activities, supported the interventionists and the whiteguards, participated in counter-revolutionary plots, and organised terrorist acts against leaders of the Soviet State and the Communist Party. p. 56

[61] This refers to the secretary of the *Sotsial-Demokrat* editorial board. p. 59

[62] The Eighth International Congress of the Second International took place in Copenhagen from August 28 to September 3, 1910 (New Style). p. 59

[63] At the time many Russian artists, writers, and school teachers lived on Capri and visited Gorky. p. 59

[64] *Rabochaya Gazeta*—an illegal popular organ of the Bolsheviks published in Paris from 1910 to 1912; nine issues were put out. Lenin was its initiator, organiser and editor. Pro-Party Mensheviks (Plekhanovites) contributed to the paper. The Prague Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. of 1912 proclaimed it the official organ of the C.C. R.S.D.L.P. (Bolsheviks); Gorky rendered it financial aid. p. 60

[65] At the International Socialist Congress in Copenhagen (August 28-September 3, 1910) Lenin and Plekhanov protested to the Executive of the German Social-Democratic Party against the publication in *Vorwärts*, its Central Organ, of an anonymous slanderous article concerning the state of affairs in the Russian Social-Democratic Party; the author of the article was Trotsky. p. 60

[66] Lenin refers to A. V. Lunacharsky's article "Tactical Trends in the Russian Social-Democratic Party" published in the newspaper *Le Peuple* of August 23, 1910.

Le Peuple—a daily newspaper, the Central Organ of the Belgian Workers' Party, has been published in Brussels since 1885. p. 60

[67] Lenin has in mind the Bolshevik legal monthly journal devoted to philosophical and socio-economic problems, *Mysl*, which was published in Moscow from December 1910; the journal was organised by Lenin to counterbalance and combat liquidationist journals. Lenin directed the work of the journal from abroad. The main contributors were V. V. Vorovsky, M. S. Olminsky, I. I. Skvortsov-Stepanov. Pro-Party Mensheviks (G. V. Plekhanov and others) also contributed. The journal was published till April 1911; five issues were put out. The last, fifth issue was confiscated. p. 60

[68] *Zhizn* (Life)—a legal socio-political journal, organ of the Menshevik liquidators, published in Moscow. Two issues were put out in August and September 1910. p. 60

[69] The reference is to the Bolshevik legal newspaper *Zvezda* which was to be published with the participation of the Social-Democratic group in the Third Duma. p. 61

[70] *Rech* (Speech)—a daily newspaper, Central Organ of the Cadet Party; published in St. Petersburg from February 1906; suppressed in October 1917. p. 62

[71] *Sovremennik* (Contemporary)—a monthly literary and political journal published in St. Petersburg from 1911 to 1915. Grouped around it were Menshevik liquidators, S.R.s, "Popular Socialists", and Left liberals. p. 62

[72] *Vestnik Yevropy* (European Herald)—a monthly magazine devoted to history, politics and literature, published in St. Petersburg from 1886 till the summer of 1918; it was bourgeois liberal in trend and after the 90s waged a constant struggle against Marxism. p. 62

[73] *Russkaya Mysl* (Russian Thought)—a monthly literary and political magazine published in Moscow from 1880 till 1918; prior to 1905 it was of a liberal Narodnik trend. After the revolution of 1905 it became the organ of the Right wing of the Cadet Party; its editor was P. Struve. p. 62

[74] *Russkoye Bogatstvo* (Russian Wealth)—a monthly journal published from 1876 to the middle of 1918. In the early nineties it became the organ of the liberal Narodniks and was edited by S. N. Krivenko and N. K. Mikhailovsky. The journal advocated renunciation of revolutionary struggle and conducted a bitter struggle against Marxism. p. 62

[75] *Narodism*—a petty-bourgeois trend in the Russian revolutionary movement which arose between the 1860s and 1870s. The Narodniks strove to abolish the autocracy and hand over the landowners' land to the peasants. They denied the natural development of capitalist relations in Russia and regarded the peasantry and not the proletariat as the main revolutionary force, and the village commune as the embryo of socialism. With the aim of rousing the

peasantry to fight the autocracy the Narodniks went to the country, "among the people", but had no support there. Narodnik socialism was utopian because it was not connected with the real development of society. Narodism went through several stages from revolutionary democracy to liberalism. In the 1880s and 1890s the Narodniks took a conciliatory stand towards tsarism, expressed the interests of the kulaks and waged a relentless struggle against Marxism.

Cadets—members of the Constitutional-Democratic Party, the main party of the liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie in Russia. The party was founded in October 1905, its membership consisted of representatives of the bourgeoisie, Zemstvo leaders from among the big landowners and bourgeois intellectuals. Under the cover of sham democracy and calling themselves the "Party of People's Freedom", the Cadets strove to retain tsarism in the form of a constitutional monarchy. After the victory of the October Revolution the Cadets organised counter-revolutionary plots and mutinies against the Soviet Republic. p. 62

[76] *Sovremenny Mir* (Contemporary World)—a monthly literary, scientific and political journal published in St. Petersburg from October 1906 to 1918. Mensheviks, G. V. Plekhanov among them, were its main contributors. During the time of the bloc with the Plekhanov pro-Party group, Bolsheviks also contributed to the journal. During World War I (1914-18) the journal became the organ of the social-chauvinists. p. 62

[77] *Krasnoye Znamya* (Red Banner)—a bourgeois political and economic journal published in Paris in 1906. p. 63

[78] The reference is to the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia in 1905-07. p. 63

[79] This demand was put forward by Gorky under the influence of Lenin. (See Lenin's letter to Gorky of November 22, 1910.)

Later, in August 1911, Gorky broke off with *Sovremennik*. In 1912, when A. V. Amfiteatrov gave up the editorship of the magazine and Y. A. Lyatsky became its editor, Gorky again became a contributor to the magazine. From the autumn of 1912 to May 1913 Gorky was on its editorial board. p. 64

[80] This refers to G. V. Plekhanov's article "Karl Marx and Lev Tolstoi (*Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 19-20, January 13, 1911). Lenin's article "Heroes of 'Reservation'" was published in *Mysl* No. 1 (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 16, pp. 368-73). p. 66

[81] *Zvezda* (Star)—a Bolshevik legal newspaper published in St. Petersburg from December 1910 to April (May) 1912 (first once a week, then twice and three times a week). Up till the autumn of 1911 pro-Party Mensheviks (the Plekhanovites) contributed to *Zvezda*. Ideological guidance of the newspaper was effected by Lenin from abroad.

Zvezda prepared the publication of the daily Bolshevik newspaper *Pravda* and was closed by the government on the day the first issue of *Pravda* appeared. p. 66

[82] Lenin has in mind G. V. Plekhanov's article, "Publicist's Notes, Pertaining to This and That." p. 67

[83] The *Black-Hundreds* were monarchist organisations of pogromists set up by the tsarist police to fight the revolutionary movement.

Octobrists—members of the Octobrist Party (or the Union of October 17th), a counter-revolutionary party of the big industrial bourgeoisie and big landowners who conducted farming on capitalist lines. It was founded in November 1905. Announcing themselves to be supporters of the Manifesto of October 17 in which the tsar, frightened by the revolution, promised the people "civil liberties" and a constitution, the Octobrists in fact supported the home and foreign policy of the tsarist government. The leaders of the Octobrists were A. Guchkov, a big industrialist, and M. Rodzyanko, the owner of enormous estates. p. 67

[84] The school in Bologna (Italy)—the second anti-Party school of the Vperyod group (late 1910-early 1911); was a faction centre of otzovists-ultimatumists. p. 69

[85] This refers to the closing of *Mysl* by the tsarist government. p. 70

[86] The reference is to the translation of Karl Kautsky's pamphlet *Taktische Strömungen in der deutschen Sozialdemokratie* (*Tactical Trends among the German Social Democrats*) into Russian, the publication of which was started in *Mysl* No. 5, April 1911. p. 70

[87] Kautsky's article "Malthusianismus und Sozialismus" was written in answer to P. Maslov's articles directed against Kautsky's book, *Vermehrung und Entwicklung in Natur und Gesellschaft*, published in 1910. p. 70

[88] *The Party school in Longjumeau* near Paris was set up by the Bolshevik centre in the summer of 1911 for the workers coming from Russia. Lenin delivered a series of lectures there on political economy, agrarian question and the theory and practice of socialism. Students invited Gorky to lecture on literature but the state of his health prevented him from coming. p. 71

[89] This refers to Lenin's articles "Strike Statistics in Russia" and "Those Who Would Liquidate Us" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vols. 16 and 17). p. 73

[90] *Sovremennaya Zhizn* (Modern Life)—a legal Bolshevik weekly journal published in Baku in March-April 1911. p. 73

[91] This refers to the Party school in Longjumeau. p. 74

[92] This refers to the negotiations started by Gorky in connection with the publication in Russia of a big journal and a daily newspaper. It was planned that Lenin would contribute to them. These plans did not materialise. p. 74

[93] The "fair" was apparently a code name for the meeting of the C.C. R.S.D.L.P. members in Paris on June 10-17, 1911. p. 74

[94] *Kievskaya Kopeika* (Kiev Kopek)—a bourgeois daily newspaper published in 1911. p. 74

[95] Publication of *Zvezda* was resumed after an interruption lasting from June 11 (24) to October 23 (November 5), 1911. p. 74

[96] The reference is to the resolutions passed by the Prague Party Conference held on January 5-17 (18-30), 1912. The resolutions and "Announcement" about the Conference were published in a separate booklet in Paris in February 1912, by the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. p. 76

[97] In 1911 and 1912 seven stories from Gorky's *Tales of Italy* were published in *Zvezda*. p. 76

[98] *Zhivoye Dyelo* (Vital Cause)—a Menshevik liquidationist legal weekly published in St. Petersburg in 1912. Sixteen issues were put out. p. 77

[99] *Irkutskoye Slovo* (Irkutsk Word)—a newspaper of Menshevik-liquidationist orientation (1911-12). p. 77

[100] The reference is to Gorky visiting Lenin in Paris in the spring of 1912. p. 78

[101] *Vekhi* (Landmarks)—a symposium published by the Constitutional-Democrats in Moscow in 1909. In their articles about the Russian intelligentsia the *Vekhi* people tried to discredit the revolutionary-democratic traditions of the best representatives of the Russian people, vilified the revolutionary movement of 1905 and thanked the tsarist government for saving the bourgeoisie "with its bayonets and jails" from "the fury of the people". *Vekhi* called on the intelligentsia to serve autocracy. p. 79

[102] *Trudoviks* (Trudovik group)—a group of petty-bourgeois democrats in the Dumas in Russia, consisting of peasants and intellectuals with a Narodnik orientation. The Trudovik faction was set up by the peasant deputies in the First Duma in April 1906. In the Duma the Trudoviks wavered between the Cadets and revolutionary Social-Democrats. But since the Trudoviks after all represented the peasant masses, the Bolsheviks in the Duma adopted the tactics of cooperating with them on certain issues for the common struggle against the tsarist autocracy and the Cadets.

Bezzaglavtsi—a semi-Cadet, semi-Menshevik group of the Russian intelligentsia (S. N. Prokopovich, Y. D. Kuskova, V. Y. Bogucharsky), formed in the period of the decline of the revolution of 1905-07. It took its name from the political weekly *Bez zaglaviya* (Without a Title) published in St. Petersburg in January-May 1906 and edited by Prokopovich. Later Bezzaglavtsi grouped around the Left Cadet newspaper *Tovarishch* (Comrade). They supported

the revisionists in the Russian and international Social-Democratic movement. p. 79

[103] *Pravda* a daily legal Bolshevik newspaper published in St. Petersburg; it was founded on the initiative of St. Petersburg workers in April 1912. Its average circulation was 40,000. Lenin directed *Pravda* from abroad, contributed to it almost daily, gave directives and rallied around it the most prominent Party writers.

Pravda was constantly persecuted by the police, and the tsarist government closed it eight times, but the paper continued to appear under new names: *Rabochaya Pravda* (Workers' Truth), *Severnaya Pravda* (Northern Truth), *Pravda Truda* (Truth of Labour), *Za Pravdu* (For Truth), *Proletarskaya Pravda* (Proletarian Truth), *Put Pravdy* (Path of Truth), *Rabochy* (The Worker), *Trudovaya Pravda* (Labour Truth). On July 8 (21), 1914 the paper was closed.

The publication of *Pravda* was resumed only after the February bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1917. On March 5 (18), 1917 *Pravda* began appearing as the organ of the Central and Petrograd Committees of the R.S.D.L.P. On April 5 (18), upon his return from abroad, Lenin joined the editorial board and directed its work. Between July and October 1917 the paper was persecuted by the counter-revolutionary Provisional Government and had to change its name more than once, appearing as *Listok Pravdy* (Pravda News Sheet), *Proletary* (The Proletarian), *Rabochy* (The Worker) and *Rabochy Put* (Workers' Path). After the October Socialist Revolution, on October 27 (November 9), 1917, the paper began appearing under its original name *Pravda*. p. 80

[104] *Nevskaya Zvezda*—a legal Bolshevik newspaper published in St. Petersburg from February (March) to October 1912. Twenty-seven issues appeared. *Nevskaya Zvezda* was published simultaneously with the newspaper *Zvezda* and was to replace it in case the latter was suppressed or confiscated. After April 22 (May 5), 1912 it was published instead of the closed *Zvezda*. p. 81

[105] A Warsaw newspaper—*Warsaw Latest News* published from July 13 to August 19, 1912. p. 82

[106] *Zaprosy Zhizni* (Demands of Life)—a weekly journal published in St. Petersburg in 1909-12. Cadets, "Popular Socialists" and Menshevik liquidators contributed to the journal. p. 82

[107] Lenin has in mind elections to the Fourth Duma held in the autumn of 1912. The first session of the Duma opened on November 15 (28), 1912. p. 83

[108] The reference is to the liquidators' conference held in Vienna in August 1912. The anti-Party August bloc organised by Trotsky was formed at the conference. The overwhelming majority of the delegates represented scanty liquidationist groups abroad having no ties with the working class of Russia and also the Russian liquidators grouped around *Nasha Zarya* and others. The disinte-

gration of the August bloc started at the conference itself and was completed in 1914. p. 83

[109] *Luch* (The Ray)—a legal daily newspaper put out by Menshevik liquidators in St. Petersburg from 1912 to 1913. p. 83

[110] *Dyen* (The Day)—a liberal-bourgeois daily newspaper published in St. Petersburg in 1912. Its contributors were Menshevik liquidators, who took over the paper completely after the February bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1917. It was closed by the Military-Revolutionary Committee under the Petrograd Soviet in October 1917. p. 83

[111] *Krugozor* (Horizon)—a literary-political monthly with a bourgeois-liberal orientation published in St. Petersburg at the beginning of 1913. Gorky was listed among the contributors but did not participate. p. 85

[112] At the elections to the Fourth Duma by the workers' curia from industrial gubernias: St. Petersburg, Vladimir, Kostroma, Kharkov, Yekaterinoslav and Moscow, the Bolshevik workers A. Y. Badayev, F. N. Samoilov, N. R. Shagov, M. K. Muranov, G. I. Petrovsky were elected; P. B. Malinovsky was also elected; subsequently he was exposed as an *agent provocateur*. p. 89

[113] *Zavety* (Behests)—a legal literary-political monthly journal with a Socialist-Revolutionary orientation published in St. Petersburg from 1912 to 1914. p. 89

[114] The workers' Party school Lenin is writing about was to be organised in the summer or autumn of 1913 in Poronin (Galicia) for members of the Social-Democratic Duma group and other Party workers. It was never opened. p. 90

[115] M. F. Andreyeva arrived in Russia on November 8, 1912 under the assumed name of Harriet Brooks. For half a year she lived in Mustamyaki as a foreigner. p. 90

[116] *God-builders*, god-building—a religious-philosophical trend hostile to Marxism which arose in the period of reaction among certain Party intellectuals who had abandoned Marxism after the defeat of the 1905-07 revolution. The god-builders (A. V. Lunacharsky, V. A. Bazarov and others) advocated a new "socialist" religion and tried to reconcile Marxism with religion. Gorky was at one time associated with them.

A meeting of the extended editorial board of *Proletary* held on June 8-17 (21-30), 1909, condemned god-building and stated in a special resolution that the Bolshevik group had nothing in common with "such perversions of scientific socialism". p. 92

[117] Here and on p. 100 of this book the reference is to the C.C. R.S.D.L.P. meeting with Party workers called the "February Conference" for the sake of secrecy. The meeting took place in Cracow from December 26, 1912 to January 1, 1913 (January 8-14). p. 92

[118] *Prosveshcheniye* (Enlightenment) a Bolshevik monthly journal dealing with theoretical, social-political and literary matters; published legally in St. Petersburg from December 1911 to June 1914. Lenin directed the work of the journal from abroad.

Lenin invited Gorky to head the fiction department. The journal was banned by the tsarist government on the eve of the first imperialist war.

In the autumn of 1917 the publication of the journal was resumed, but only one (double) issue was put out. p. 94

[119] See pp. 91-92 of this book. p. 94

[120] In No. 78 of *Luch* (The Ray) the Bolshevik deputies to the Duma: A. Y. Badayev, G. I. Petrovsky, F. N. Samoilov and N. R. Shagov were listed as its contributors. But a month later they refused to contribute to *Luch* stating in a special letter (*Luch* No. 24 for 1913) their disagreement with the liquidationist orientation of the newspaper. p. 94

[121] The reference is to Lenin's letter to Gorky at the beginning of January 1913. Gorky sent an excerpt from this letter to A. N. Tikhonov, who was working at the time in the fiction department of the Bolshevik newspaper *Pravda*. p. 96

[122] A. V. Lunacharsky's feuilletons appeared in the newspaper *Dyen* (The Day) from October 1912 to January 1913. Lunacharsky's feuilleton "Fear and Hope" was published in the newspaper *Kievskaya Mysl* (Kiev Thought) No. 357, December 25, 1912.

Kievskaya Mysl—a daily bourgeois democratic newspaper published in Kiev from 1906 to 1918. p. 96

[123] The reference is to the publication of a legal Bolshevik newspaper in Moscow: the first issue of the paper under the title *Nash Put* (Our Path) appeared on August 25 (September 7), 1913. p. 96

[124] *Severniye Zapiski* (Northern Notes)—a literary and political monthly magazine published from 1913 to 1917 in St. Petersburg. p. 97

[125] The reference is to the preparation for publishing legally Moscow Bolshevik newspaper *Nash Put*. The first issue appeared on August 25 (September 7), 1913. Among its contributors were Bolshevik deputies to the Fourth Duma, writers M. S. Olminsky, I. I. Skvortsov-Stepanov, M. Gorky, D. Bedny and others.

The newspaper was banned by the government after the sixteen issues had appeared. p. 98

[126] *Novaya Sibir* (New Siberia)—a social-political daily newspaper with a liberal orientation published in Irkutsk from December 1912 to February 1913. The liquidationist N. Rozhkov was in fact its editor. p. 99

[127] The reference is to Lenin's article "A Liberal Labour Party Manifesto" (see V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 17). p. 99

[128] *Dashnaks* –members of the Armenian bourgeois nationalist Dashnaktsutyun Party organised in early 1890s; in January 1913 rumours were spread about the possibility of a rising in Turkish Armenia under the leadership of the members of this Party. p. 100

[129] P.P.S.–(Polska Partia Socjalistyczna)–a reformist nationalist party set up in 1892. p. 100

[130] The reference is to the letter of the Bolshevik deputies to the Fourth Duma on their resignation from the liquidationist newspaper *Luch*. p. 102

[131] The reference is to J. V. Stalin, who was working on the article "The Nationalities Problem and Social-Democracy". p. 102

[132] Gorky's suspicions of dishonesty on the part of K. P. Pyatnitsky, the managing director of the Znaniye publishers, were never confirmed. p. 103

[133] The "Manifesto" was published in connection with the 300th anniversary of the house of the Romanovs. p. 104

[134] The reference is to the Capri school organised with Gorky's participation and financial aid. p. 104

[135] On February 17, 1913, N. K. Krupskaya forwarded to Gorky six letters received from "practising" Bolsheviks from Russia.

N. K. Krupskaya sent this material to Gorky with a note stating that during the Cracow conference of the C.C. R.S.D.L.P. with Party workers they "were drunk with joy because the reports read at the conference proved that nothing had been in vain, that the workers' masses had grown as compared with 1905, and that in the remotest parts of Russia they had their own Social-Democratic workers' organisations". p. 104

[136] It has not been established which newspaper Lenin has in mind. In 1911 a legal Social-Democratic newspaper *Yasnaya Zarya* (Cloudless Dawn) was published in Odessa. V. V. Vorovsky contributed to it. p. 107

[137] Gorky was a delegate to the Fifth (London) Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., with voice but no vote, which took place from April 30 to May 19 (May 13-June 1), 1907. p. 108

[138] The conflict was between the Duma and the government in connection with the speech of the Black Hundred deputy Markov the Second, who said, having in mind the representative of the Ministry of Finance, "stealing is forbidden". There was no reaction to this statement in the Duma. The Council of Ministers, considering his remark as an insult to the whole government, demanded that Markov should be put on trial and that the Chairman of the Duma Rodzyanko should make a statement in the Duma censuring him. p. 108

[139] *Pravda* was banned on July 5 (18), 1913; on July 13 (26) it resumed publication under the name *Rabochaya Pravda*. p. 108

[140] It has not been established what this refers to. p. 109

[141] Lenin mentions a telegram sent by Gorky from Rimini to the C.C. R.S.D.L.P. on the death of August Bebel; the telegram was published in the newspaper *Severnaya Pravda* (Northern Truth) No. 4, August 4, 1913. p. 112

[142] As is seen from Lenin's letter of November 14 or 15, 1913 Gorky was against publishing V. Voitinsky's novel. In the August 1914 issue of *Prosveshcheniye* an excerpt from V. Voitinsky's novel *The Waves* entitled "A Ray of Light in the Night" was published; it has not been established whether the reference is to this excerpt. p. 114

[143] Gorky came out in the press against the Moscow Art Theatre's staging of Dostoyevsky's reactionary novel *The Possessed* in two articles: "On the Karamazov Attitude" and "Once Again on the Karamazov Attitude". The concluding paragraph of the second article, published in the newspaper *Russkoye Slovo* on October 27, 1913, was criticised by Lenin. The article was reprinted in the collection: *Articles of 1905-06* (1917) without the concluding paragraph. p. 115

[144] The reference is to V. Voitinsky's manuscript (see p. 114 of this book). p. 119

[145] *Letopis* (Chronicle)—a literary, scientific and political monthly magazine founded by Gorky in Petrograd; appeared from December 1915 to August 1917.

Under its auspices the Parus (Sail) Publishing House was organised. Lenin sent to that publishing house his "New Data on the Laws Governing the Development of Capitalism in Agriculture. Part One. Capitalism and Agriculture in the United States of America" (see V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22). p. 123

[146] The reference is to the book: *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22). p. 123

[147] N. K. Krupskaya's book *Public Education and Democracy* was not published by the Parus Publishing House as had been planned but only in 1917 by the Zhizn i Znaniye Publishers. p. 124

[148] *Novaya Zhizn* (New Life)—a daily newspaper of semi-Menshevik orientation published in Petrograd from April 1917 to July 1918. p. 125

[149] Gorky and M. F. Andreyeva sent a telegram to Moscow the day after an attempt on Lenin's life. p. 126

[150] The telegram was sent to two addresses: to A. V. Lunacharsky and Lenin. p. 127

[151] In 1917 by decision of the Provisional Government the unique collections of the Hermitage and other Petrograd museums were evacuated to Moscow and were kept in the Kremlin Great Palace, the Armoury and the History Museum. Gorky was a member of the Hermitage Board and its honorary chairman. The exhibition was not arranged and all collections were sent back to Petrograd in 1920. See Gorky's letter to Lenin of April 2, 1920, with remarks in Lenin's handwriting. p. 127

[152] A. I. Kuprin was received by Lenin on December 26, 1918, and spoke about a project for publishing a newspaper for the peasants entitled *Zemlya* (The Land).

Gorky took part in this meeting, which he mentions in his letter to the second Petrograd urban district of August 2, 1919. Lenin approved of Kuprin's project. p. 128

[153] Early in September 1918 Gorky proposed a plan for publishing a fortnightly information magazine dealing with the achievements of the Soviet power. p. 129

[154] The Chief Committee for State Building was set up in May 1918 under the Supreme Economic Council. p. 129

[155] A. V. Lunacharsky was at the time the People's Commissar for Education. p. 129

[156] The publication of *Novaya Zhizn*, banned in July 1918, was not resumed. p. 130

[157] The reference is to the newspaper *Vsegda Vperyod* (Always Forward), the publication of which was resumed in January 1919. Two months later it was closed on Lenin's suggestion. p. 130

[158] In 1919 the Vsemirnaya Literatura *Book Catalogue* with an introduction by Gorky was published.

Vsemirnaya Literatura (World Literature)—a publishing house organised by Gorky under the People's Commissariat for Education in the second half of 1918. p. 130

[159] This telegram was sent from Petrograd on March 6 to two addresses: to V. I. Lenin, Chairman of the C.P.C., and to L. B. Krasin. p. 131

[160] Chief Administration of Paper Industry under the Supreme Economic Council and District Administration of the Paper Industry of Petrograd Region. p. 131

[161] On the back of Lenin's letter L. B. Krasin wrote: "Petrograd's persistent refusal to issue paper which has been lying idle for months is obvious and deliberate sabotage on the part of Pravbum, Levbum or some other administration. 17/III. Krasin" p. 132

[162] *Left S.R.s* (Left Socialist-Revolutionaries)—a party which was organisationally formed at its First All-Russia Congress in November 1917. Prior to this the Left S.R.s constituted the Left Wing of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party.

After prolonged hesitation Left S.R.s, trying to retain their influence over the peasant masses, came to an agreement with the Bolsheviks; their representatives were C.P.C. members. But the Left S.R.s disagreed with the Bolsheviks on the main issues of the socialist revolution, were against the dictatorship of the proletariat. In January-February 1918 the C.C. of the Left S.R. Party started a campaign against the conclusion of the Brest Peace Treaty and resigned from the C.P.C. in March 1918 after the Treaty had been signed and ratified by the Fourth Congress of the Soviets.

With the aim of frustrating the Peace Treaty and involving the Soviet country in war with Germany the Left S.R.s assassinated the German ambassador Count Mirbach in Moscow. After that they raised an armed revolt which was part of the general offensive of the internal counter-revolution and the Entente imperialists against the Soviet republic. The Left S.R.s tried to organise revolts also in Petrograd, Vologda and other towns.

After the revolt had been suppressed the Fifth All-Russia Congress of Soviets decided to expel the Left S.R.s, who supported the adventurist line of their leadership, from the Soviets.

p. 133

[163] The agitation steamer *Krasnaya Zvezda* (Red Star) was equipped at the end of June 1919 and was to propagandise the R.C.P. Eighth Congress decisions on the attitude to the middle peasants among the population of the territories newly liberated from the white-guard armies. The steamer sailed up the Volga and the Kama. N. K. Krupskaya was a representative of the People's Commissariat for Education on it. p. 138

[164] The mutiny at *Krasnaya Gorka* fort which took place on June 13, 1919, had been prepared by a counter-revolutionary organisation, the "National Centre", consisting of several anti-Soviet groups and espionage underground organisations. The mutineers planned to weaken the Kronstadt fortified region and to capture Petrograd by combining the general offensive at the front with the mutiny. During the night of June 16th the mutiny was suppressed.

p. 149

[165] The type-written text bares neither signature nor date. The date is given according to V. V. Vorovsky's note of January 31, 1920, which follows Gorky's text. The note says: "The same destroying of printshops is going on in Moscow. Everything is in the hands of the printing departments *which are not within our jurisdiction.* M. Gorky, *member of the editorial board of the State Publishing House in Petragrad*, as you see, is powerless to stop 'the building' of the Printing Department. It is necessary to *put resolute pressure* on the Supreme Economic Council and 'give orders'."

On January 31, 1920, the Supreme Economic Council sent the Printing Department of the Petrograd Economic Council a telegram giving orders not to interfere in the affairs of the printshop without Gorky's consent, stop transferring the workers to other jobs and return the workers who had been taken from the printshop.

V. V. Vorovsky headed the State Publishing House at the time. p. 155

166 It is not known whether Lenin received Farbman at the time. On October 27, 1922, Lenin gave Farbman an interview which was published in *Pravda* of November 10, 1922 (see V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33). p. 157

167 In a telegram of March 19, Lenin informed Gorky that A. V. Sapozhnikov had been released.
In his essay "V. I. Lenin" Gorky wrote about Sapozhnikov without mentioning his name (see p. 285 of this book). p. 159

168 Gorky is citing H. G. Wells' letter of February 11, 1920. p. 159

169 The reference is to H. G. Wells' book *The Outline of History*.
A series of twenty-four parts of it were published in London from November 1919 to November 1920. p. 160

170 *Staden Gerst*—Gorky apparently has in mind Haden Guest who visited Russia as a member of an English delegation in February-March 1920. H. G. Wells mentions her in his book *Russia in the Shadows*. p. 160

171 *Pemmican*—a preparation of dried meat mixed with fat and flavoured with currants, etc. p. 160

172 A. Y. Badayev was at that time Chairman of the Food Commissariat for North-Western Region. p. 161

173 The question of the scientific trip abroad by doctor Manukhin was approved by the C.P.C. of the R.S.F.S.R. in September 1920. p. 162

174 See Note 151. p. 163

175 In the summer of 1920 a commission to fight juvenile delinquency was set up in Petrograd with Gorky at its head. p. 163

176 Gorky thought about the publication of "selected works" of Russian classics. Z. I. Grzhebin's publishing house started the project; selected works by M. Y. Lermontov and A. P. Chekhov were put out and also Volume One of N. S. Leskov with an introduction by Gorky. p. 165

177 The letter is dated according to Lenin's resolution. p. 166

178 In 1920-21 Gorky was chairman of the Petrograd Scientists' Welfare Commission. p. 166

179 This refers to the printing in Tallinn (Revel) of a number of books for the Grzhebin and Vsemirnaya Literatura publishing houses. p. 169

[180] *Narodnoye Pravo* (People's Right)—an illegal organisation of the Russian revolutionary democratic intelligentsia set up in 1893 by former members of the secret Narodnik society Narodnaya Volya (People's Freedom). The members of this organisation set as their aim the rallying of all opposition forces to struggle for political reforms. In 1894 the organisation was suppressed by the police. p. 169

[181] These statements were written by Gorky in connection with the decision of the Narrow Council of People's Commissars of May 24, 1920 refusing the Vsemirnaya Literatura Publishing House 10 million Duma banknotes and the Grzhebin publishing house 10 million Soviet banknotes. p. 171

[182] The addressee did not receive the letter; on the back of the letter was written in Y. P. Peshkova's hand: "Not to be forwarded to Vl. Ilyich".
Y. P. Peshkova was Gorky's first wife; Maxim was their son. p. 176

[183] The note bore neither signature nor date. It was dated according to Lenin's memo to Goslitizdat (see next item). p. 177

[184] It has not been established what books were ordered from Brodsky. p. 177

[185] Written in connection with Gorky's note about books ordered abroad. In the original it follows Gorky's text. p. 178

[186] The date is given in accordance with Lenin's letter to A. M. Lezhava and M. N. Pokrovsky of 21/X, 1920. The signature *A. M. Gorky* is in Lenin's hand.
At the top of the letter is written in Gorky's hand: "*This statement is to be submitted to the Council of People's Commissars by A. M. Lezhava. To the C.P.C. Copy.*" p. 179

[187] The letter is dated according to Lenin's endorsement. p. 182

[188] *The Narrow Council of People's Commissars* was set up in December 1917 and had the rights of the C.P.C. commission to relieve it of minor questions. Its decisions were endorsed by the Chairman of the C.P.C. p. 182

[189] The date on the letter is given in accordance with the next item.
The All-Russia Scientists' Welfare Commission was established in 1919, in 1921 it was turned into the Central Scientists' Welfare Commission. (C.S.W.C.) p. 184

[190] Written in connection with Gorky's letter addressed to the All-Russia Scientists' Welfare Commission. See pp. 184-87 of this book. In the original it follows Gorky's text. p. 188

[191] An apparent slip of the pen. It probably refers to J. V. Gessen, former leading figure of the Cadet Party, a white émigré, enemy

of the Soviet state. In 1920 Josif Gessen published in Berlin the anti-Soviet newspaper *Rul* (Helm) and the so-called "Archive of the Russian Revolution". p. 191

[192] Gorky was unaware that on November 16, 1920, the C.P.C., on Lenin's proposal, had adopted the corresponding decision. p. 194

[193] The text of the petition bears N. Gorbunov's resolution addressed to Gorky in which he stated that the Motor Transport depot was put at the disposal of the Petrograd Executive Committee. p. 196

[194] An apparent reference to Gorky's letter in connection with the A.R.A. (American Relief Administration) proposal to conclude an agreement with Soviet Russia. The letter on this question was sent by Lenin to L. B. Kamenev on July 31, 1921. p. 198

[195] Carnegie Foundation was a charity institution founded by the American multimillionaire Andrew Carnegie. p. 204

[196] The Central Famine Relief Commission had a branch abroad headed by N. N. Krestinsky, U.S.S.R. plenipotentiary to Germany. p. 204

[197] *Smena Vekh* (Change of Landmarks)—a collection of counter-revolutionary articles, published in Prague in July 1921. Its authors were representatives of intellectual circles in the anti-Soviet white émigré camp—realising that no foreign intervention could overthrow the Soviet power they hoped that the Soviet state would disintegrate from within. p. 206

[198] The demonstration of December 6 (18), 1876 was organised by the workers and students to protest against the arbitrary acts of the tsarist autocracy. G. V. Plekhanov, who took part in the demonstration, made a revolutionary speech. The demonstration was dispersed by the police; many participants were arrested and sentenced to banishment and hard labour. p. 209

[199] "Zemlya i Volya" (Land and Freedom) was the motto of an illegal organisation of the same name set up by Narodniks in 1876. p. 209

[200] The reference is to "Provisional Redulations of Military Service for Students of Higher Educational Establishments Expelled From These Establishments for Mass Disturbances". (Endorsed on July 29, 1899.) p. 209

[201] Gorky rendered financial aid to Lenin's *Iskra*, in 1905 to the newspapers *Vperyod*, *Proletary* and later to other Bolshevik publications and helped to raise funds among pro-Bolshevik intellectuals.
Natasha (V. Gurvich-Kozhevnikova)—*Iskra's* representative in Moscow; contacts with Gorky were established through her; *Claire*—G. M. Krzhizhanovsky. p. 211

[202] The reference is to the financial aid Gorky (Bukva) rendered to the Bolsheviks at the end of 1902. p. 211

[203] The first issue of the Bolshevik newspaper *Vperyod* appeared on December 22, 1904. p. 211

[204] Gorky was arrested in Riga on January 11 (24), 1905, brought to St. Petersburg and imprisoned in St. Peter and Paul's Fortress. On February 14 (27) under the pressure of world opinion he was released from prison on bail and the same day banished to Riga. p. 212

[205] On January 9, 1905 a peaceful demonstration of workers going to the tsar with a petition was fired on. This day marked the beginning of the revolution of 1905-07. p. 212

[206] The reference is to the revolts at Sveaborg and Kronstadt in July 1906, which were brutally suppressed. p. 213

[207] Lenin cites Gorky's "Song of the Stormy Petrel". p. 214

[208] A slanderous article: "Expulsion of Gorky from the S.D. Party" was published in the newspaper *Utro Rossii* No. 1, November 15, 1909. Lenin received the second issue of the paper of November 20, 1909, where the so-called *Interview* about which Lenin writes was published under the general title *Excommunication of Maxim Gorky*. This sensational news was snatched up by the newspaper *Rech* and other bourgeois Russian and foreign newspapers. Lenin wrote the article "The Bourgeois Press Fable About the Expulsion of Gorky" in this connection (see V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 16).

Utro Rossii (The Dawn of Russia)—a daily newspaper published in Moscow from 1907 to 1918. It was the organ of the big Moscow industrialists and bankers. p. 214

[209] *Vorwärts*—a daily newspaper, Central Organ of the German Social-Democratic Party; published in Berlin from 1891. On its pages F. Engels fought all brands of opportunism. From the late nineties, after Engels' death, *Vorwärts* came under the influence of the Right Wing of the Party and systematically published articles written by opportunists. p. 214

[210] The reference is to Yelizaveta Vasilyevna Krupskaya, Nadezhda Krupskaya's mother. p. 215

[211] *Russkoye Slovo* (Russian Word)—a daily bourgeois-liberal newspaper, published in Moscow from 1895; closed in November 1917 for publishing slanderous anti-Soviet articles. p. 215

[212] *Novoye Vremya* (New Time)—a daily newspaper, appeared in St. Petersburg from 1868 to October 1917; belonged to several publishers and changed its political trend more than once. At first it was moderately liberal, from 1876 it became an organ of reactionary nobility and bureaucratic circles; from 1905 an organ of the

Black Hundreds. After the February bourgeois-democratic revolution the newspaper supported the counter-revolutionary policy of the bourgeois Provisional Government and persecuted the Bolsheviks. p. 215

213 All-Russia (December) Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. (Fifth All-Russia Conference) was held in Paris on December 21-27, 1908 (January 3-9, 1909). It was attended by 16 voting delegates; of whom 5 were Bolsheviks, 3 Mensheviks, 5 Polish Social-Democrats and 3 Bundists. The C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. was represented by Lenin. Lenin made a report "On the Present Moment and the Tasks of the Party" and speeches on the Social-Democratic Duma group, organisational and other questions. At the Conference the Bolsheviks fought two forms of opportunism within the Party: liquidationism and otzovism. On Lenin's proposal this Conference condemned liquidationism and called upon all Party organisations to fight attempts to liquidate the Party. p. 217

214 Lenin has in mind the appeal from the writers, artists and actors of liberal views, published in the Right Cadet newspaper *Russkoye Slovo* (Russian Word).

In his letter of October 1 (14), 1914 to V. S. Voitinsky Gorky wrote: "...signed in haste the protest of writers against the 'German atrocities' and it worries me seriously..." (Gorky archives). p. 220

215 *O.C.-ists*—supporters of the O.C.—Organising Committee—the leading centre of the Mensheviks. p. 221

216 *Volna* (Wave)—a publishing firm set up in Petrograd in 1916. Lenin was asked to contribute and write articles for the firm. But after learning that the sponsor of the firm was Chernomazov, suspected of provocations, Lenin refused to contribute to Volna publications. p. 222

217 *V. N. Katin-Yartsev*—a man of letters connected with the Parus publishers to whom Lenin's manuscripts of *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* and N. K. Krupskaya's *Public Education and Democracy* were sent for publication. p. 222

218 See Lenin's letters to Gorky written on January 11 and prior to February 1916 published in this book, pp. 123, 124. p. 222

219 In his letter of April 13, 1933 to I. A. Gruzdev Gorky wrote that he could not recall such an article written by him for the press; "Probably it was a foreign press frame-up" (M. Gorky, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 30). p. 225

220 Lenin's work "The Tasks of the R.S.D.L.P. in the Russian Revolution" is a summary of his report delivered in German at the meeting of Swiss workers in the Zürich People's House on March 14 (27), 1917. p. 231

[221] The reference is to V. I. Dahl's Russian Dictionary published in four volumes in 1863-66. (Since the October Revolution second and third impressions have appeared.) On Lenin's directives the People's Commissariat for Education started work on the compiling of a new dictionary, but the project was not completed at the time. p. 231

[222] On April 22, 1920 Gorky forwarded to Lenin Professor S. P. Kostychev's letter requesting to provide him with materials for experimental work at the Petrograd University laboratory of plant physiology. Besides Lenin's note published in this book there was a note on Kostychev's letter written by the People's Commissar of Health N. A. Semashko: "Fully agree with Lenin's suggestion and for my part shall render all possible aid to Comrade Gorky. "N. Semashko." p. 232

[223] *Expertise Commission* was organised in February 1919, with Gorky at its head, to set up an export fund of nationalised antiques, luxuries and articles of art. p. 233

[224] The reference is to the article "Vladimir Ilyich Lenin" and Gorky's open letter to H. G. Wells, which were published in the journal *The Communist International* No. 12, 1920.

On July 31, 1920 the Political Bureau of the C.C. R.C.P. (B.) approved Lenin's proposal. p. 234

[225] The note was written in connection with M. F. Andreyeva's letter of February 17, 1922, sent to Lenin from Berlin. M. F. Andreyeva informed Lenin of the poor state of Gorky's health and asked for a speedy settlement of the question concerning publication of his works.

On February 1922 the Political Bureau issued orders that the People's Commissariat for Education was "to buy the copyright from Gorky for the publication of his works" and that the Berlin branch of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade together with N. N. Krestinsky was "immediately to make arrangements in this respect and start at once financing Gorky". p. 237

[226] The reference is to Gorky's letter of July 3, 1922 to Anatole France concerning the trial of S.R.s accused of counter-revolutionary and terrorist activities. p. 238

[227] The reference is to Gorky's article "Vladimir Ilyich Lenin" published in 1920 in the journal *The Communist International* No. 12. p. 239

[228] The reference is to the arbitrary trial of the German Social-Democrat and Menshevik Parvus (A. L. Gelfand), who took the money received from the staging of Gorky's *The Lower Depths* which he was to hand over to the Party funds.

The talk between Gorky, Lenin and Krasin (Nikitich) concerning the arbitrary trial of Parvus apparently took place on November 27 (December 10), 1905 when they met in St. Petersburg. p. 243

[229] Gorky's apprehensions of Lenin's arrest were groundless. p. 243

[230] *Red Star*—a utopian novel by A. A. Bogdanov published in 1908. p. 244

[231] A project which was never put into practice. Profit from the publication of this collection was intended for revolutionary purposes. p. 244

[232] *Raduga* (Rainbow)—a literary, scientific and political journal, published in Geneva from June 1907 to February 1908. Four issues were put out. p. 244

[233] The reference is to the so-called congress of pro-Party writers which was convened on Capri with the participation of V. A. Bazarov, A. A. Bogdanov and A. V. Lunacharsky. p. 245

[234] The author of *Empirio-monism*—A. A. Bogdanov. p. 245

[235] A reference to Lenin's *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. p. 246

[236] On Gorky's initiative the Parus publishing house was to publish a series of booklets on West-European countries during the first imperialist war. The editor was M. N. Pokrovsky.

The criticism of Kautsky's renegade position by Lenin encountered objections from the publishers (see Lenin's letter to Inessa Armand, p. 222 of this book). In this connection Lenin wrote a letter to M. N. Pokrovsky (see p. 223 of this book). p. 246

[237] The reference is to G. Zinoviev's pamphlet on Austria-Hungary. Gorky rejected the pamphlet. p. 246

[238] The reference is to Lenin's book: *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, sent by Lenin to the Parus publishing house directed by Gorky. p. 247

[239] M. I. Ulyanova. p. 247

[240] The minutes of the inauguration meeting of the commission in charge of the publication of the Soviet Encyclopaedia were kept in the private archive of the prominent Bolshevik historian N. N. Baturin (Zamyatin). The meeting was apparently held between 1919 and 1921; the questions under discussion were the structure of dictionary sections and the chief editors for each section. Gorky was proposed to head the section of literature and art. A decision was taken on setting up an initiative editorial group which included Gorky. However, due to the difficulties caused by the Civil War the project was not completed at the time. p. 247

[241] The reference is to the mobilisation of the Red Army men for procuring firewood for the scientists. p. 252

[242] L. B. Kamenev. p. 252

[243] See p. 198 of this book. p. 252

[244] The reference is to an early version of the essay "V. I. Lenin". p. 253

[245] Y. P. Peshkova. p. 253

[246] No article under such a title has been preserved. p. 254

[247] The reference is to an early version of the essay "V. I. Lenin". p. 254

[248] Gorky took part in the work of the Fifth (London) Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. as a delegate with a vote but no voice. p. 256

[249] Gorky met Lenin for the first time in St. Petersburg on November 27, 1905. p. 256

[250] A reference to Y. K. Breshko-Breshkovskaya, a Socialist-Revolutionary. p. 259

[251] These words addressed to the Mensheviks belonged to L. Tyszka, a Polish Social-Democrat, and not to Rosa Luxemburg. p. 263

[252] Gorky was in Paris in 1911 and in 1912 and met Lenin there. p. 266

[253] The reference is to Deshovaya Biblioteka (Cheap Library), a series put out by Znaniye publishers where Gorky, on the initiative of the Bolshevik C.C., set up a special Party section. It was announced in the newspaper *Novaya Zhizn* that the main contributors included V. I. Lenin, M. S. Olminsky, A. V. Lunacharsky (*Novaya Zhizn* No. 13, November 15). Several works by K. Marx, F. Engels, A. Babel, P. Lafargue and K. Kautsky were published in the Deshovaya Biblioteka series. p. 267

[254] Lenin visited Gorky on Capri twice: in April 1908, and in June 1910. p. 268

[255] An apparent reference to the Congress of the Poor Peasants Committees of the Northern Region which took place in Petrograd in November 1918. p. 277

[256] Gorky and a delegation of the United Council of Petrograd Research Institutions and Higher Educational Establishments consisting of Academicians S. F. Oldenburg and V. A. Steklov and Professor V. N. Tonkov were received by Lenin in the Kremlin on January 27, 1921. p. 281

[257] Gorky is citing Lenin's report on the Party Programme to the Eighth Party Congress as interpreted by the newspaper *Severnaya Kommuna* (Petrograd), March 22, 1919. p. 282

[258] An apparent reference to Ivan Volny's (I. Y. Volnov) book, *The Story of My Life* published in 1913; in 1912 it appeared in the magazine *Zavety* (Behests). p. 285

[259] *Rakhmetov*—a revolutionary, a character from N. G. Chernyshevsky's novel *What Is To Be Done?* p. 286

[260] The reference is to a character from L. Andreyev's short story *Darkness*. p. 286

[261] The reference is to an engineer inventor A. M. Ignatyev. p. 291

[262] Gorky has in mind Roman Rolland's article "The Great Helmsman" written in 1924 (*International Literature* No. 1, January 1939, p. 15). p. 297

[263] This letter is an answer to El Madani's letter of February 1924 in connection with Gorky's essay "V. I. Lenin". p. 297

[264] The reference is to an earthquake which occurred in Japan on September 1, 1923. p. 298

[265] On the day of its fifth anniversary the Institute of Oriental Studies sent Gorky a message of greetings in which his role as an organiser of the Institute was especially stressed. p. 300

[266] The reference is to Gorky's reminiscences written by him just after Lenin's death which formed an early version of his essay "V. I. Lenin". p. 300

[267] The reference is to the First Civil Revolutionary War in China (1924-27). p. 300

[268] *S. V. Bruneller*—an employee of the railway workshops in Dnepropetrovsk; he wrote to Gorky in February 1928 that he was "one of hundreds of thousands" of his worshippers and asked him to explain why he, a man who had done so much for the liberation of the Russian proletariat from the tsarist yoke, was living abroad. p. 303

[269] The letter is Gorky's reaction to the article by A. K. Voronsky "Problems of Art" published under the pen-name of L. Anisimov in the magazine *Sibirskiye Ogni* (Siberian Lights) No. 1, 1928, pp. 176-98. p. 303

[270] The reference is to Lenin's views on cultural legacy which he expounded in his article "The Heritage We Renounce" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2) and also in some articles, speeches and talks after the October Socialist Revolution. p. 304

[271] In the morning of May 31, 1928 Gorky and his son M. A. Peshkov visited the Lenin Mausoleum. p. 304

[272] A newspaper report of this speech was published in *Pravda* on June 6, 1928. p. 305

[273] At the end of May 1928 Gorky visited the Marx-Engels Institute where he got acquainted with the research work and translations connected with the preparation for the press of the works by Marx and Engels. The Institute's research workers told Gorky how difficult it was to decipher Marx's manuscripts and acquainted him with their work. p. 305

[274] Gorky's speech was an answer to a question of a working woman correspondents: "Alexei Maximovich, I have learned by chance that you are not a Party member. Why is it so?" p. 307

[275] The reference is to Lenin's article "The Heritage We Renounce" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2). p. 308

[276] The reference is to the C.C. R.C.P.(B.) resolution On Party Policy as Regards Fiction Writing of June 18, 1925.

In his letter of July 13, 1925 to M. F. Andreyeva Gorky wrote: "A few days ago *Pravda* published, quite opportunely, a C.C. resolution 'On Party Policy as Regards Fiction Writing'. This resolution will certainly have a great educational impact on writers and will push forward Russian literature." p. 311

[277] Gorky has in mind the following words from Lenin's article "The Impending Catastrophe and How To Combat It" (September 1917):

"Owing to a number of historical causes... the revolution broke out in Russia earlier than in other countries. The revolution has resulted in Russia catching up with the advanced countries in a few months, as far as her *political* system is concerned.

"But that is not enough. The war is inexorable, it puts the alternative with ruthless severity: either perish or overtake and outstrip the advanced countries *economically as well*" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25). p. 311

[278] See Note 262. p. 312

[279] Citation from N. A. Nekrasov's verse "In Memory of Dobrolyubov". p. 313

[280] The reference is to N. K. Krupskaya's letter of May 25, 1930 to Gorky (see p. 239 of this book). p. 315

[281] "*Prokukish Committee*"—an ironic abbreviation for famine relief committee founded in 1921 by S. N. Prokopovich. Y. D. Kuskova and N. M. Kishkin with the secret aim of heading counter-revolutionary actions which they were expecting to begin. p. 315

[282] Excerpts from an article published in *Krasnaya Gazeta* (The Red Newspaper) (Leningrad) on June 20, 1936 entitled "To the Shock workers of the City of Lenin" with the following editorial note:

"Five years ago a group of Leningrad workers—members of shock brigades bearing the name of Gorky—wrote the writer who lived at the time on the isle of Capri a letter about their work. In April 1931 they received an answer from Gorky. We are printing excerpts from this letter." p. 317

283 These Lenin's words are quoted in Clara Zetkin's reminiscences. In his talk with Clara Zetkin Lenin said: "Why should we reject the truly beautiful as a point of departure for further development just because it is old? Why worship the new, as a god, compelling submission merely because it is new? Nonsense! Bosh and nonsense!" p. 320

284 A reference to A. N. Afinogenov's play "The Lie". p. 320

285 A reference to the chapter "On the Road to the October" compiled by several authors. p. 322

286 N. K. Krupskaya was 65 on February 26, 1934. p. 323

287 Gorky is citing Lenin's speech "The Tasks of the Youth Leagues" delivered at the Third All-Russia Congress of the Russian Young Communist Leads on October 2, 1920 from the third Russian edition of V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works* (see V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31). p. 324

288 Numerous drafts of his future planned works among which there are notes on Lenin are kept in Gorky's archives.

The first note refers to a talk which took place when Lenin visited Gorky on October 20, 1920 in Y. P. Peshkova's Moscow flat. p. 324

289 *Possessional law*—right to possess state land, its resources and the labour of state peasants given by the tsarist government to Russian entrepreneurs in the 17th century; it was widely used in the Urals and was the means for providing labour, raw materials and fuel under the serfdom. After the 1861 Reform possessional peasants were released, but in regard to land ownership the law persisted till 1917 and was a remnant of feudalism in Russia. p. 341

INDEX OF PERIODICALS

Berliner Tageblatt.—214, 215
Berner Tagwacht.—23
České slovo.—296
The Communist International.—234
The Daily Telegraph.—213
Diskussionny Listok.—54, 56
Dnevnik Sotsial-Demokrata.—55
Dyelo.—221
Dyen.—183, 96
L'Eclair.—214, 215
Golos Sotsial-Demokrata.—30
Irkutskoye Slovo.—77
Izvestia.—282
Izvestia zagranichnoi oblastnoi organizatsii.—79
Kievskaya Kopeika.—74
Kievskaya Mysl.—96
Kopeika.—155, 156
Krasnoye Znamya.—63
Krugozor.—85, 97
Letopis.—123, 221, 222, 226
Luch.—83, 84, 94, 101
Moskovskaya Pravda.—98
Mysl.—66, 68, 70, 73
Nasha Zarya.—55, 60, 66, 99
Nash Put.—113
National Zeitung.—204
Neue Zeit.—30, 34, 60
Neue Züricher Zeitung.—225
Nevskaya Zvezda.—81
Novaya Sibir.—99
Novaya Zhizn (1905).—23, 25, 26
Novaya Zhizn (1917).—125, 130
Novoye Vremya.—215
Le Peuple.—60
Pochin.—79
Prager Tageblatt.—255
Pravda.—80, 83, 84, 87, 88, 90, 92, 93, 95-98, 100, 102, 105, 108, 110, 112
Proletary.—17, 19, 22, 24-29, 34-37, 41-43, 52, 53, 216
Prosveshcheniye.—94, 100, 101, 105, 112-13, 114
Rabochaya Gazeta.—60, 62
Rabochy Krai.—234
Le Radical.—215
Raduga.—244
Rech.—62, 65, 66, 70, 115, 215
Revolutsionnaya Mysl.—79
Revolutsionnaya Rossiya.—79
Russkaya Mysl.—62, 117
Russkoye Bogatstvo.—62
Russkoye Slovo.—215
Severniye Zapiski.—97
Sotsial-Demokrat.—54, 66, 229
Sotsialisticheskiy Vestnik.—238
Sovremennaya Zhizn.—73
Sovremennik—62, 64, 66, 67, 76
Sovremenny Mir—62
Sozialistische Monatshefte.—68
Times.—251
Utro Rossii.—214, 215
Vestnik Yevropy.—62
Volna.—222
Vorwärts.—60, 214, 215
Vossische Zeitung.—212
Vsegda Vperyod.—130
Warsaw Latest News.—81
Zaprosy Zhizni.—82
Zarya.—31, 32
Zavety.—89, 97
Zhivoye Dyelo.—77
Zhizn.—60
Zvezda.—66, 68, 72, 74-77, 99

NAME INDEX

A

Afinogenov, Alexander Nikolayevich (1904-1941)—Soviet playwright.—320

Aldanov, M. A. (1886—1957)—pseudonym of M. Landau, a White émigré writer.—253

A. A-ch, Al. Al., Alexander Alexandrovich. See *Bogdanov, A. A.*

Alexinsky, Grigory Alexeyevich (born 1879)—Russian Social-Democrat; following the defeat of the 1905-07 revolution joined otzovists and became one of the organisers of the anti-Party group Vperyod; after the October Socialist Revolution emigrated from Soviet Russia.—56, 91, 102, 294

Amfiteatrov, Alexander Valentinovich (1862-1938) — bourgeois writer of feuilletons, after the October Socialist Revolution emigrated from Russia.—63, 64, 65, 77, 82

Andreyev, Leonid Nikolayevich (1871-1919) — Russian writer.—286, 344

Andreyeva, Maria Fyodorovna (*M. F., M. F-na, Maria Fyodorovna*) (1872-1953) — Russian actress and public figure, wife of Maxim Gorky.—16, 17, 19, 22, 23, 37, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 49, 54, 59, 60-61, 63, 70, 73, 75, 77, 80, 82, 83, 85, 89, 90-91, 132, 152, 194, 205, 253, 265, 271, 291, 334-339, 344

Anisimov. See *Voronsky, A. K*

Anyuta. See *Yelizarova-Ulyanova, A. I.*

Apatov, A.—member of the Presidium of the Scientists' Welfare Commission.—167

Argutinsky-Dolgorukov, V. N.—member of the Hermitage Board.—127

Arsenyev, K. K. (1837-1919)—liberal writer and public figure, a lawyer by profession.—213

Artamonov, M. D. (1888-1958)—poet, one of the organisers of a group of poets attached to the Ivanovo-Voznesensk newspaper *Rabochy Krai.*—234

Avanesov, Varlaam Alexandrovich (1884-1930)—member of the Collegium of the State Control Commission, 1919-20; Deputy People's Commissar of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, 1920-24.—172

Avdeyev—member of the control commission for checking the list of Petrograd scientists to be issued a special food ration.—173

Avenarius, Richard (1843-1896)—German bourgeois philosopher, subjective idealist; formulated the basic principles of empirio-criticism.—38

Averbakh, Mikhail Iosifovich (1872-1944)—professor, prominent Soviet ophthalmologist.—238

Axelrod, Pavel Borisovich (1850-1928)—Russian Social-Democ-

rat, a Menshevik leader, later a white émigré.—30. 257, 341

B

Babushka. See *Breshko-Breshkovskaya, Y. K.*

Badayev, Alexei Yegorovich (1883-1951)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904, member of the Bolshevik group in the Fourth Duma; after the October Socialist Revolution held various Party and government posts.—90, 91, 98, 161

Bakayev, I. P.—159

Bazarov (*Rudnev, Vladimir Alexeyevich*) (1874-1939)—Rsusian Social-Democrat; between 1905 and 1907 contributed to various Bolshevik periodicals; renounced Bolshevism during the period of reaction (1907-10), and began to preach "god-building" and empirio-criticism, was one of the principal exponents of the Machist revision of Marxism.—26, 33, 34, 38, 39, 47, 91, 95, 125, 221, 244, 245, 269, 315

Bebel, August (1840-1913)—one of the leaders of German Social-Democracy and the international working-class movement.—103, 257, 264

Bebutov, I. D.—prince, sympathised with Social-Democracy; collected documents on the history of the liberation movement in Russia; bequeathed his archives and library to the R.S.D.L.P.—86

Bedny, Demyan. See *Demyan Bedny.*

Benois, Alexander Nikolayevich (1870-1960)—painter, author of books on history of the arts, member of the Hermitage Board.—127

Berdyaev, Nikolai Alexandrovich (1874-1948)—Russian reactionary idealist philosopher and mystic.—39

Berman, Yakov Alexandrovich (1868-1933)—Russian Social-Democrat, lawyer and philosopher. His philosophical views were an eclectic mixture of metaphysic materialism and pragmatism.—33

Bernstein, Eduard (1850-1932)—a leader of the extreme opportunist wing of the German Social-Democratic Party and the Second International, theoretician of revisionism and reformism.—60

Blanqui, Louis Auguste (1805-1881)—French revolutionary, representative of Utopian communism, organiser of various secret societies and conspiracies, took an active part in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848. He hoped to seize power with the aid of a small group of revolutionary conspirators, and failed to understand the decisive role of mass organisation in the revolutionary struggle.—263

Blok, Alexander Alexandrovich (1880-1921)—Russian poet.—133

Bogdanov (*Malinovsky, Alexander Alexandrovich, A. A-ch, Al. Al. Maximov*) (1873-1928)—Russian Social-Democrat, philosopher, sociologist and economist. During the period of reaction (1907-10) and the new revolutionary upswing, headed the otzovists and was leader of the anti-Party Vperyod group. He attempted to formulate his own philosophical system "empirio-monism", which was actually a variety of the subjective-idealist philosophy of Mach.—22, 24, 26, 29-35, 37-39, 41, 44, 47, 51, 52, 92, 95, 102, 106, 120,

221, 243-45, 266, 269, 271, 316

Bogdanov-Malinovsky. See *Bogdanov, A. A.*

Bogdanova, N. B.—*A. Bogdanov's wife*.—45.

Bogomolov, V. I. (1881-1935)—known in the Party under the nickname of Chort; took an active part in the 1905 revolution.—175

Bonch-Bruyevich, Vladimir Dmitriyevich (1873-1955)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903, historian and writer. In 1904 was manager of the Central Committee Forwarding Department, afterwards organised the publication of Bolshevik literature (the V. Bonch-Bruyevich and N. Lenin Publishing House). In later years took an active part in starting Bolshevik newspapers, periodicals and Party publishing houses.—67, 222, 364-712

Boroda. See *Desnitsky, V. A.*

Botkina, M. S. (1870-1960)—painter, daughter of S. P. Botkin, physician and progressive public figure.—54

Braz—member of the Hermitage Board.—127

Breshko-Breshkovskaya, Yekaterina Konstantinovna (*Babushka*) (1844-1934)—one of the organisers and leaders of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, member of its extreme Right wing. After the October Socialist Revolution actively opposed the Soviet government.—259

Briand, Aristide (1862-1932)—French statesman. For a short time was member of the Left wing of the Socialist Party. After his election to parliament in 1902, became a reactionary bourgeois politician openly hostile to the working class.—66

Bronstein, P. A. (*Yuri*) (born 1881)—Russian Social-Democrat, Menshevik. During the years of reaction (1907-10) and of the new revolutionary upswing he was among the liquidators.—55

Bruneller, S. V.—employee in the railway workshops of Dnepropetrovsk.—303

Bukharin, Nikolai Ivanovich (1888-1938)—member of the R.S.D.L.P. from 1906. After the October Socialist Revolution held various responsible posts. Repeatedly came out against the Leninist Policy of the Party. For his anti-Party activities was expelled from the Party in 1937.—147, 238, 282

Burenin, N. Y. (1874-1962)—Bolshevik during the first Russian revolution, member of the Technical Combat Group of the C.C. R.S.D.L.P.—245

Buryanov, Andrei Faddeyevich (born 1880)—Menshevik, deputy to the Fourth Duma.—108

C

Carnegie, Andrew (1835-1919)—American multimillionaire.—204

Chaliapin, Fyodor Ivanovich (1873-1938)—Russian singer.—220, 272

Charushnikov, A. P.—publisher.—113

Chernov, Victor Mikhailovich (1876-1952)—a leader and theoretician of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party. In 1917 entered the bourgeois Provisional Government; after the October Socialist Revolution enigrated from Soviet Russia.—56, 77, 81, 169, 170

Chernyshevsky, Nikolai Gavrilovich (1828-1889)—Russian revolutionary democrat, mate-

rialist philosopher and writer.—71

Chekhov, Anton Pavlovich (1860-1904)—Russian writer.—165, 344

Chugayev, Lev Alexandrovich (1873-1922)—Soviet chemist.—276

Chutskayev, Sergei Yefimovich (1876-1946)—member of the R.S.D.L.P. from 1903; member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Finance (1918-21).—194

Chuzhak (Nasimovich, Nikolai Fyodorovich) (1876-1927)—literary critic.—77

Clair. See Krzhizhanovsky.

Columbus, Christopher (1451-1506)—248

Curie (Sklodowska, Marie) (1867-1934)—physicist and chemist, made a great contribution to the theory of radioactive substances.—312

D

Dan (Gurvich, Fyodor Ilyich) (1871-1947)—a Menshevik leader.—30, 261, 322

Danin, S. M.—employee at the Scientific Statistical Department.—185

Danovsky, L. S.—302

Davis, Jerome (born 1891)—American public figure, pedagogue, sociologist; visited Russia from 1916 to 1918, one of the organisers of American relief for the famine-stricken in Soviet Russia.—199

Debs, Eugene (1855-1926)—prominent figure in the American working-class movement, one of the founders of the American Social-Democratic Party, which in 1901 merged with the Socialist Party.—259

Demyan Bedny (Pridvorov, Yefim Alexeyevich) (1883-1945)—Soviet poet.—105, 295

Denikin, Anton Ivanovich (1872-1947)—general of the tsarist army; commander-in-chief of the whiteguard forces in the south of Russia during the foreign military intervention and civil war (1918-20). Emigrated from Russia in March 1920 following the defeat of the whiteguard forces.—150

Descartes, René (1596-1650)—French dualist philosopher, mathematician and natural scientist.—122

Desnitsky, Vasily Alexeyevich (Stroyev) (1878-1958)—took part in Social-Democratic movement from 1897; joined the Bolsheviks after the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. but abandoned them in 1909. One of the founders of the Menshevik newspaper *Novaya Zhizn* in 1917; engaged in scientific research and teaching from 1919 on.—61, 253, 266, 289

Deutsch, Lev Grigoryevich (1855-1941)—one of the founders of the first Marxist group called the Emancipation of Labour, later a Menshevik. After the October Socialist Revolution retired from political activity.—257, 341

Diderix, A. P. (1884-1942)—painter.—200-201

Dillon, E.—correspondent of *The Daily Telegraph*.—213

Dioneo (Shklovsky, I. V.) (1865-1935)—journalist, translator, correspondent of Russian newspapers in London.—133

Dobrowein, Isaia Alexandrovich (1894-1953)—pianist, conductor, composer.—289, 357

Dobrolyubov, Nikolai Alexandrovich (1836-1861)—Russian revolutionary democrat, materialist philosopher and literary critic.—210

Dokuchayev, Vasily Vasilyevich (1846-1903)—Russian natural

scientist, founder of soil science and of the comprehensive study of nature.—312

Domernikova, A. N.—senior assistant at the Institute of Medical Knowledge.—184

Dostoyevsky, Fyodor Mikhailovich (1821-1881)—Russian writer.—115

Dubrovinsky, Iosif Fyodorovich (Inok, Innokenty) (1877-1913)—professional revolutionary, prominent Bolshevik.—29, 36, 37

Dunkan—worked at the Central Housing Department.—185

Dürer, Albrecht (1471-1528)—German painter of the Renaissance.—289

Dzerzhinsky, Felix Edmundovich (1877-1926)—prominent figure in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state. After the victory of the October Socialist Revolution was chairman of the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counter-Revolution and Sabotage (VECHEKA).—159, 285, 291

E

Edelstein, Y. S.—geologist.—186

El Madani — anarchist, translator of Maxim Gorky's works into Spanish.—253, 297, 299

Engels, Frederick (1820-1895)—30, 33, 215, 311

F

Fabre, Jean Henri (1823-1915)—French entomologist.—177

Farbman M. S. (1880-1933)—from 1920 Moscow correspondent of the English newspapers *Observer* and *Manchester Guardian*.—157

Fedin, Konstantin Alexandrovich (born 1892)—Soviet writer.—358-61

Ferri, Enrico (1856-1929)—one of the leaders of the Italian Socialist Party, ideologist of Centrism. Editor of the Party's Central Organ *Avantil* (1904-08). Resigned from this post in 1908.—27

Fersman, Alexander Yevgenievich (1883-1945)—Soviet mineralogist and geochemist, member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences.—276

Feuerbach, Ludwig (1804-1872)—German materialist philosopher and atheist.—120

Fichte, Johann Gottlieb (1762-1814)—German subjective idealist philosopher.—122

Franz-Josef (1830-1916)—Emperor of Austria-Hungary (1848-1916).—100

Fyodorov, Sergei Petrovich (1869-1936)—Soviet surgeon, professor of the Military Medical Academy in Leningrad.—167, 184

G

Gapon, Georgi Apollonovich (1870-1906)—priest, was in the service of the tsarist secret police.—15, 213

Gassendi, Pierre (1592-1655)—French materialist philosopher, physicist and mathematician.—122

Gessen, J. V.—active member of the Constitutional-Democratic Party, white émigré; from 1920 published in Berlin the anti-Soviet newspaper *Rul* (Steering Wheel) and the so-called *Archive of the Russian Revolution*.—191, 213

Ghil, Stepan Kazimirovich (1888-1966)—Lenin's chauffeur (1917-24).—265

Glubokovsky, N. N.—Professor of Petrograd University.—185

Goldenberg, Iosif Petrovich (Meshkovsky) (1873-1922)—Social-Democrat, joined the

Bolsheviks after the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.; journalist. When the First World War broke out he adopted a defencist stand.—16, 220

Gredeskul, Nikolai Andreyevich (born 1864)—jurist and publicist, member of the Constitutional-Democratic Party.—79

Grozhan, I. (*Gvozdev, D. S.*) (born 1876)—member of the R.S.D.L.P. from 1903; took part in 1905-07 revolution, after the October Socialist Revolution held various posts in the national economy and engaged in scientific research.—175

Grzhebin, Zinovy Isayevich (1869-1929)—head of the Publishing House organised in 1919 in Petrograd (with branches in Moscow and later also in Berlin) for printing fiction, science fiction and scientific literature.—125, 132, 165, 171, 191-92, 236

Grum-Grzhimailo, V. Y. (1864-1928)—Russian metallurgist, one of the founders of metallurgical science in Russia, author of a number of works. Corresponding Member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences.—199

Guchkov, Alexander Ivanovich (1862-1936)—big capitalist, leader of the Octobrist Party. Member of the bourgeois Provisional Government after the February bourgeois-democratic revolution (1917).—226-28

Guilbeaux, Henri (1885-1938)—French socialist, poet and publicist, author of one of Lenin's first biographies, which he wrote when Lenin was still alive.—239

Gukovsky, Isidor Emmanuilovich (1871-1921)—member of the R.S.D.L.P. from 1898. After the October Socialist Revolution was appointed People's Commissar for Finance, transferred to diplomatic work in 1920.—171-72

Gurvich, R. M.—student of the Technological Institute.—248

Gurvich-Kozhevnikova, V. F. (*Natasha*)—representative of *Iskra* in Moscow, helped to contact Maxim Gorky.—113

H

Harding, Warren Hamaliel (1865-1923)—U.S. President (1921-23).—204

Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich (1770-1831)—outstanding German philosopher, objective idealist.—48, 122, 325

Herzen, Alexander Ivanovich (1812-1870)—Russian revolutionary democrat, materialist philosopher, writer and publicist.—165

Hillquit, Morris (1869-1933)—American Socialist, one of founders of the reformist Socialist Party of the U.S.A. (1901).—259

I

Idzon, L. I.—student at the Technological Institute.—248

Ignatiev, A. M.—engineer and inventor.—175

Innokenty. See *Dubrovinsky, I.F.*

Inok. See *Dubrovinsky, I. F.*

Ionov, Iona Ionovich (1887-1942)—in 1920, chief of the Petrograd branch of the State Publishing House.—165, 204

Iordansky, Nikolai Ivanovich (1876-1928)—Russian Social-Democrat, originally a Menshevik; took part in starting the newspaper *Zvezda* in 1910; joined the Communist Party

after the October Socialist Revolution.—67, 73

Isuv, Iosif Andreyevich (Mikhail) (1878-1920)—Russian Social-Democrat, Menshevik; became a liquidator during the period of reaction (1907-10) and contributed to the *Nasha Zarya* and other liquidator periodicals.—55

Ivanov, Vsevolod Vyacheslavovich (1895-1963)—Soviet writer.—362-71

Ivanchin-Pisarev, A. I. (1849-1916)—journalist.—213

Izgoyev (Lande), Alexander Solomonovich (born 1872)—bourgeois publicist, prominent figure in the Constitutional-Democratic Party.—117

J

Johnston, H.—158

Jordania, Noi Nikolayevich (1870-1953)—leader of the Georgian Mensheviks.—66

K

Kachorovsky, Karl Romanovich (born 1870)—adherent of Narodism, Economist.—63.

Kalinin, Mikhail Ivanovich (1875-1946)—prominent figure in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Chairman of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee from 1919; Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Central Executive Committee from 1922; Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. from 1938.—145, 233

Kamenev, Lev Borisovich (1883-1936)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1901, after its Second Congress sided with the Bolsheviks. Following the bourgeois-democratic revolution of February 1917 opposed the Party's line of socialist revolution. After the October Socialist Revolution held various responsible posts. He repeatedly vacillated and opposed the Leninist policy of the Party. Expelled from the Party in 1927, twice reinstated and again expelled for his anti-Party activities.—74, 93, 119, 140, 149, 198

Kamo. See *Ter-Petrosyan.*

Kant, Immanuel (1724-1804)—founder of classical German philosophy, idealist.—30

Kaplun, B. G. (born 1894)—joined the R.C.P. in 1917; member of the Collegium of the Executive Department of the Petrograd Soviet (1918-21).—232

Karakhan, Lev Mikhailovich (1889-1927)—Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs (1918-23).—169

Katin-Yartsev, V. N. (1876-1928)—writer connected with the Parus Publishing House.—222

Kautsky, Karl (1854-1938)—one of the leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party and the Second International; originally a Marxist, then a renegade, ideologist of Centrism (Kautskyism), a most dangerous and pernicious variety of opportunism.—70, 71, 74, 223, 258

Kedrin, Y. I. (born 1851)—lawyer, active participant in the liberal-bourgeois movement of 1905-06, member of the Constitutional-Democratic Party, Deputy to the First Duma.—213

Khalatov, Artemy Bagratovich (1896-1938)—member of the R.C.P.(B.) from 1917. Member of the Collegium of the R.S.F.S.R. People's Commissariat for Food, Chairman of the Workers' Supply Commis-

sion under the Council of People's Commissars.—295, 313

Khaustov, V. I. (born 1884) Russian Social-Democrat, Menshevik, turner by profession; Deputy to the Fourth Duma.—108

Khomyakov, Nikolai Alexeyevich (1850-1925)—big landowner, monarchist; Chairman of the Third Duma (1907-10).—67

Kishkin, Nikolai Mikhailovich; (1864-1930)—one of the leaders of the Constitutional-Democratic Party, member of the bourgeois Provisional Government. In 1921, was an active member of public organisations set up to combat the famine.—316

Claire. See *Krzhizhanovsky, G. M.*

Klasson, Robert Eduardovich (1868-1926)—Soviet specialist in electrical engineering, inventor of hydraulic peat extraction.—192

Klein, Hermann Joseph (1844-1914)—German astronomer, science fiction writer.—178

Kocher, Emil Theodor (1841-1917)—Swiss surgeon.—110

Kogan.—171

Kolchak, Alexander Vasilyevich (1873-1920)—tsarist admiral, monarchist. In 1918-19, one of the principal leaders of the counter-revolution in Russia. Supported by the imperialists of the U.S.A., Great Britain and France, he proclaimed himself the Supreme Ruler of Russia and headed the military dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and landowners in the Urals, Siberia and the Far East. This dictatorship was ended by the Red Army and the growing partisan movement.—150

Kolganov, K. G. (born 1906)—moulder at the Kostychevo Brickworks; later Professor at the Chelyabinsk Institute of Mechanisation and Electrification of Agriculture.—301

Kollontai, Alexandra Mikhailovna (1872-1952)—prominent figure in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Soviet diplomat.—291

Kolosov, Y. Y. (born 1879)—prominent figure in the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, author of articles and pamphlets about Mikhailovsky and the Narodnik movement.—66

Krasin, Leonid Borisovich (Nikitich) (1870-1926)—prominent figure in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Soviet diplomat. Between 1919 and 1924 held responsible posts in trade and industry.—132, 155, 157, 175, 204, 237, 243, 259

Krestinsky, Nikolai Nikolayevich (1883-1938)—Soviet statesman, took an active part in the 1905 revolution; contributed to Bolshevik periodicals during the period of reaction (1907-10) and the new revolutionary upswing. Between 1918 and 1921 was People's Commissar for Finance and Secretary of the C.C. R.C.P.(B.), transferred to diplomatic work in 1922.—204, 234, 235, 236-37, 252

Korolenko, Vladimir Galaktionovich (1853-1921)—Russian writer.—147, 148, 235

Kostychev, Sergei Pavlovich (1877-1931)—Soviet physiologist of plants, biochemist and microbiologist.—276

Kristi.—173

Krupskaya, Nadezhda Konstantinovna (1869-1939)—one of the veteran members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, wife and close associate of Lenin; Soviet pedagogue.—17, 92, 96, 104, 105, 124, 141, 142, 143, 167, 200, 211, 215, 239, 266, 310, 313, 315-16, 323, 329-31

Kryuchkov, Pyotr Petrovich (1889-1938)—Maxim Gorky's secretary from the middle of the 1920s.—253

Krzhizhanovsky, Gleb Maximilianovich (Claire) (1872-1959)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1893; together with Lenin was one of the organisers of the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class; prominent Soviet scientist in the field of power engineering.—211

Kube—member of the Hermitage Board.—127

Kuklin, G. A.—Social-Democrat who joined the Bolsheviks in 1905; he bequeathed to the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. "Library of the Russian Proletarian" which he had collected, as well as the printshop and the warehouse.—45

Kuprin, Alexander Ivanovich (1870-1938)—Russian writer.—128

Kurayev, Vasily Vladimirovich (1892-1938)—member of the R.S.D.L.P. from 1914; member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture from 1920, member of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the National Economy.—234

Kursky, Dmitry Ivanovich (1874-1932)—prominent figure in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state; from 1918 to 1928, People's Commissar for Justice of the R.S.F.S.R., from 1928—Soviet Ambassador to Italy.—193

Kuskova, Yekaterina Dmitriyevna (1869-1958)—bourgeois publicist; prominent representative of Economism in the Russian Social-Democratic movement; subsequently adopted the standpoint of the Constitutional-Democratic Party. After the October Socialist Revolution became an enemy of Soviet power.—316

Kuvshinov—member of the control commission for checking the list of Petrograd scientists to be issued a special food ration.—173

L

Ladyzhnikov, Ivan Pavlovich (1874-1945)—member of the Communist Party, joined the revolutionary movement in the 1890s. In 1905 became manager of the publishing house organised by the Party in Berlin to issue books by Maxim Gorky and other Russian writers.—112, 125, 243, 244, 245, 257, 258

Lankester, Edwin Ray (1847-1929)—English zoologist.—160

Larin, Y. (Lurie, Mikhail Alexandrovich) (1882-1932)—Russian Social-Democrat, Menshevik; one of the leaders of liquidationism in the period of reaction (1907-10) and the new revolutionary upswing; joined the Communist Party in August 1917. After the October Socialist Revolution worked in Soviet and economic organisations.—99

Lassalle, Ferdinand (1825-1864)—German petty-bourgeois socialist, publicist, lawyer.—292

Lazarev, Pyotr Petrovich (1878-1942)—Soviet scientist, member of the Academy of Sciences. Between 1912 and 1931 was head of the Moscow Institute of Physics (later Institute of Biological Physics), where he conducted research work in photochemistry and biophysics.—195

Leonid.—See *Krasin, L. B.*

Leshchenko, D. I. (1876-1937)

Russian Social-Democrat, Bolshevik, took part in the 1905-07 revolution; contributed to the newspaper *Zvezda* in 1910-11. After the October Socialist Revolution worked in the People's Commissariat for Education.—74

Lezhava, Andrei Maximovich (1870-1938)—member of the R.S.D.L.P. from 1904. After the October Socialist Revolution held various posts in the national economy; Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Trade from 1920.—181, 189, 193

Lianozov, S. G.—oil industrialist. Fled from Russia after the October Revolution and in 1919 played a prominent role among the white émigrés in the Baltic region.—150

Lieber (Goldman, Mikhail Isaakovich) (1880-1937)—one of the leaders of the Bund (petty-bourgeois nationalist organisation of the Jewish workers), Menshevik; liquidator in the period of reaction (1907-10); adopted a hostile attitude towards the October Socialist Revolution.—336

Liephardt, E. K.—member of the Hermitage Board.—127

Litkens, Yevgraf Alexandrovich (1882-1922)—member of the Communist Party, became Deputy People's Commissar for Education of the R.S.F.S.R. in 1921.—235

Litvinov, Maxim Maximovich (1876-1951)—prominent figure in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state, diplomat. In 1920 was a member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs.—194

Lloyd George, David (1863-1945)—British statesman and diplomat, leader of the Liberal Party.—66

Lopatin, Herman Alexandrovich (1845-1918)—veteran Russian revolutionary; for his revolutionary activity was repeatedly imprisoned and exiled. In 1887 was detained in the Schliesselburg Fortress, from which was released during the 1905 revolution; after his release joined the Socialist-Revolutionaries but did not take an active part in political life.—63, 66, 67

Lunacharsky, Anatoly Vasilyevich (1875-1933) Russian writer, Bolshevik from 1903. After the 1905-07 revolution joined the anti-Party Vperyod group and preached the god-building theory. People's Commissar for Education after the October Socialist Revolution.—15, 16, 27, 32, 36, 37, 39, 41, 43, 47, 51, 60, 91, 95, 235, 244, 245, 269, 271, 316

Lutovinov, Yuri Khrisanfovich (1887-1924)—member of the R.S.D.L.P. from 1904, member of the Presidium of the All-Russia Central Council of Trade Unions. In January 1921 was sent to Berlin as deputy trade representative of the R.S.F.S.R. in Germany.—236

Luxemburg, Rosa (1871-1919)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, one of the founders of the Communist Party of Germany.—262, 264, 336

Lvov, V. N. (born 1872)—Deputy to the Third and Fourth Dumas. Chief Prosecutor of the Synod (1917). After the October Revolution emigrated from Russia and in November 1921 joined the Smena Vekh group.—205, 226

Lyadov, Martyn Nikolayevich (1872-1947)—Russian Social-Democrat, Bolshevik, took an

active part in the 1905-07 revolution; adhered to the otzovists in the period of reaction (1907-10), was a lecturer at the Capri factional school.—51

Lyakhov, Vladimir Platonovich (1869-1919)—colonel in the tsarist army, organised cruel suppression of the national revolutionary movement in Iran.—67

Lyubimov.—313

M

M. F. See *Andreyeva, M. F.*

Mach, Ernst (1838-1916)—Austrian physicist and philosopher, subjective idealist, one of the founders of empirio-criticism.—32, 34, 38, 63, 92, 218

Maeterlinck, Maurice (1862-1949)—Belgian author.—106

Maklakov, Nikolai Alexeyevich (1871-1918)—reactionary landowner, Minister for the Interior from December 1913 to June 1915.—108

Malinovsky, Roman Vatslavovich (1876-1918)—agent provocateur who infiltrated into the Bolshevik Party; was elected to the Fourth Duma in 1912. In 1918, was sentenced to death by the Supreme Tribunal.—90, 91, 98, 108, 294

Malkin, B. F. (1891-1938)—an organiser of the Left Socialist-Revolutionary Party and member of its Central Committee. After the October Socialist Revolution was elected member of the Presidium of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, joined the Communist Party in 1918.—351-55

Malyantovich, P. N. (1870-1939)—barrister-at-law, appeared as counsel for the defence at political trials. In 1917 became Minister for Justice in the bourgeois Provisional Government.—107

Malyantovich, V.N.—Social-Democrat, brother of P. N. Malyantovich, lived in Odessa from 1901 to 1907.—107

Mankov, I. N. (born 1881)—Deputy to the Fourth Duma, Menshevik.—108

Manukhin, Ivan Ivanovich (1882-1930)—Maxim Gorky's physician.—158

Manyasha. See *Ulyanova, M. I.*

Maria Fyodorovna. See *Andreyeva, M. F.*

Maria Ilyinichna. See *Ulyanova, M. I.*

Markov—member of the Hermitage Board.—127

Martov, L. (*Tsederbaum, Yuli Osipovich*) (1873-1923)—a Menshevik leader; in the period of reaction (1907-10) a leader of the liquidators and editor of the liquidator newspaper *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata.* After the October Socialist Revolution came out against Soviet power, emigrated to Germany in 1920.—22, 23, 30, 72, 74, 169, 170, 246, 262

Martynov, A. (*Piker, Alexander Samoilovich*) (1865-1935)—one of the leaders of "Economism", a prominent Menshevik. After the October Socialist Revolution] broke with the Mensheviks and joined the Communist Party in 1923.—30.

Maslov, Pyotr Pavlovich (1867-1946)—economist, author of a number of works on the agrarian question in which he attempted to revise Marxism; in the period of reaction (1907-10) and the new revolutionary upswing became a liquidator and during the First World War was social-chauvinist;

retired from politics after the October Socialist Revolution.—71, 220, 218

Marx, Karl (1818-1883)—32, 33, 39, 63, 99

Maximov. See *Bogdanov, A. A.*

Mayakovsky, Vladimir Vladimirovich (1893-1930)—Soviet poet.—295

Mehring, Franz (1846-1919)—prominent figure in the German working-class movement, one of the leaders and theoreticians of the Left wing of German Social-Democracy, took an active part in founding the Communist Party of Germany.—273

Menzhinsky, Vyacheslav Rudolfovich (1874-1934)—prominent figure in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union worked in the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counter-Revolution and Sabotage (VECHEKA) from 1919.—197

Meshkovsky. See *Goldenberg.*

Mgeladze, V. D. (*Tria*) (born 1868)—Georgian Menshevik.—61, 66

Mikhail. See *Isuv, I. A.*

Mikhail. See *Vilonov, N. Y.*

Mikhailovsky, Nikolai Konstantinovich (1842-1904)—Russian sociologist, publicist and critic, prominent theoretician of the liberal Narodnik trend, rabid enemy of Marxism.—31, 66, 170

Millerand, Alexandre Etienne (1859-1943)—French statesman. In the 1890s joined the Socialists but in 1899 betrayed the cause of socialism and entered the reactionary bourgeois French government.—66

Milyukov, Pavel Nikolayevich (1859-1943)—ideologist of Russia's imperialist bourgeoisie, leader of the Constitutional-Democratic Party, historian and publicist.—79, 228-30

Mitrofanov—member of the control commission for checking the list of Petrograd scientists to be issued a special food ration.—173

Mitya. See *Ulyanov, D. I.*

Moiseyev, S. I. (1879-1951)—member of the R.S.D.L.P. from 1902, professional revolutionary repeatedly persecuted by the tsarist government. Emigrated to France in 1912 and stayed there till 1917.—92

Molotov, Vyacheslav Mikhailovich (born 1890)—member of the Bolshevik Party since 1906. After the October Socialist Revolution held responsible posts in the Party and the Soviet Government.—237

Mukhanov, Ivan Ananyevich.—133

Muromtsev, Sergei Andreyevich (1850-1910)—statesman and publicist, prominent figure in the Constitutional-Democratic Party; Chairman of the First Duma (1906).—66

N

Nadya. See *Krupskaya, N. K.*

Nakhamkis, Y. M. (*Nevzorov*). See *Steklov, Y. M.*

Nakoryakov, Nikolai Nikandrovich (born 1881)—Russian Social-Democrat, Bolshevik. After the October Socialist Revolution worked in publishing houses.—340-46

Natalia Bogdanova. See *Bogdanova.*

Natanson, Mark Andreyevich (1850-1919)—representative of the revolutionary Narodniks, one of the founders of the Zemlya i Volya (Land and Freedom) Party in 1893, took an active part in organising the Narodnoye Pravo (People's Right) Party. At the beginning of the twentieth century joined the So-

cialist-Revolutionary Party and was a member of its Central Committee. 89, 169, 170

Natasha. See *Gurvich-Kozhevnikova.*

N. I. See *Iordansky, N. I.*

Nicholas II (*Romanov*) (1868-1918)—last Emperor of Russia (1894-1917).—100, 121, 227, 229

Nikitich. See *Krasin, L. B.*

N. K. See *Krupskaya, N. K.*

O

Oliger, N.—man of letters.—272

Osadchy, Pyotr Semyonovich (1866-1943)—specialist in electrical engineering. Deputy Chairman of the State Planning Commission of the R.S.F.S.R. from March 1921.—199

Osinsky, N. (*Obolensky, Valerian Valerianovich*) (1887-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1907. Deputy People's Commissar for Agriculture (1921-23).—234

Ostwald, Wilhelm (1853-1932)—prominent German chemist, idealist philosopher.—32

P

Pankrushin—311

Pannekoek, Anton (1873-1960)—Dutch Left-wing Social-Democrat.—103

Parvus (*Gelfand, Alexander Lazarevich*) (1869-1924)—took part in the Social-Democratic movement in Russia and Germany, Menshevik —243, 258-60

Pasteur, Louis (1822-1895)—French scientist who contributed greatly to the development of microbiology.—162, 312

Pavlov, Dmitry—265

Pavlovich, M. (*Veltman, Mikhail Lazarevich*, (1871-1929)—Economist, joined the Communist Party after 1917; Rector of the Institute of Oriental Studies (1925).—300

Peshekhonov, Alexei Vasilyevich (1867-1933)—bourgeois public figure and publicist.—213

Peshkov, Maxim Alexeyevich (1897-1934)—Maxim Gorky's son.—125, 176, 248

Peshkov, Z. A. (*Sverdlov, Zinovy Mikhailovich*) (born 1884)—brother of Y. M. Sverdlov, Maxim Gorky's foster-son. Emigrated from Russia early in 1904 and for some time lived at Gorky's place on Capri.—45, 204, 205

Peshkova, Yekaterina Pavlovna (1876-1965)—Maxim Corky's first wife.—252, 253, 254

Peter I, The Great (1672-1725)—Tsar of Russia (1682-1721) and Emperor of Russia (1721-1725).—248

Petrovsky, Alexei Alexeyevich (1873-1942)—Soviet scientist who specialised in radio engineering.—276

Petrovsky, Grigory Ivanovich (1878-1958)—a veteran of the revolutionary movement, Bolshevik; held responsible Party and government posts.—90, 91

Petrov-Vodkin, Kozma Sergeyevich (1878-1939)—Russian painter, head of the arts workshop at the Academy.—153

Plekhanov, Georgi Valentinovich (1856-1918)—prominent leader of the Russian and international working-class movement, theoretician and propagandist of Marxism in Russia; in 1883 founded in Geneva the first Russian Marxist organisation—the Emancipation of Labour group. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903) joined the Mensheviks. During the First World War (1914-18) took a social-chauvinist stand. He

disapproved of the October Socialist Revolution, but took no part in the struggle against Soviet power.—26, 30, 31-32, 38, 39, 47, 55, 60-61, 66, 72-73, 74, 220, 257, 260, 261, 264, 272, 336, 341, 345

Pokrovsky, Ivan Petrovich (born 1872)—Russian Social-Democrat Deputy to the Third Duma. In 1910 became a member of the Editorial Board of the Bolshevik newspaper *Zvezda* (Star).—72

Pokrovsky, Mikhail Nikolayevich (1868-1932)—prominent Soviet statesman and public figure, historian, joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1905. Deputy People's Commissar for Education of the R.S.F.S.R. from 1918.—72, 181, 223, 224, 232, 235, 244, 246

Poletayev, Nikolai Guryevich (1872-1930)—Russian Social-Democrat, Bolshevik, Deputy to the Third Duma. Contributed to the Bolshevik newspapers *Zvezda* and *Pravda*.—72

Potresov, Alexander Nikolayevich (1869-1934)—a Menshevik leader, during the period of reaction (1907-10) and the new revolutionary upswing became a liquidator ideologist and directed legal publications of the liquidators such as *Nasha Zarya*.—55, 56, 73, 221

Preobrazhensky, P. I. (1874-1944)—scientist, directed geological survey operations in the Trans-Baikal region; arrested in April 1919 as a member of the Kolchak Government; released in December of the same year.—168

Prokopovich, Sergei Nikolayevich (1871-1955)—Russian bourgeois economist and publicist. Prominent representative of "Economism" at the end of the 1890s, one of the first exponents of Bernsteinism in Russia. Minister for Food in the bourgeois Provisional Government (1917). After the October Socialist Revolution was deported from Soviet Russia for anti-Soviet activities.—316

Pushkin, Alexander Sergeyevich (1799-1837)—Russian poet.—231, 232, 235

Pyatnitsky, Konstantin Petrovich (1864—1938)—one of the organisers and then manager of the Znaniye Publishing House.—46, 47, 68, 70, 71, 103, 258, 334

R

Rakitsky, I. N. (1883-1942)—Russian painter.—180, 194

Ramishvili, Noi Vissarionovich (born 1881)—a leader of the Mensheviks in Georgia.—66

Remezov, Illarion Semyonovich (1881-1960)—writer, worked for Grzhebin's Publishing House, lived in Switzerland.—177

Rockefeller, John Davison (1839 1937)—American multimillionaire.—204

Rodzyanko, Mikhail Vladimirovich (1859-1924)—big landowner, monarchist. After the October Socialist Revolution fled to Denikin and attempted to rally all the counter-revolutionary forces against the Soviet government.—150

Rolland, Romain (1866-1944)—French writer.—297, 312, 316

Roman. See *Yermolayev, K. M.*

Romanovs—dynasty of Russian tsars from 1613 to 1917.—104, 277

Ropshin (*Savinkov, Boris Viktorovich*) (1879-1925)—one of the leaders of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party.—79, 89

Rozhkov, Nikolai Alexandrovich (1868-1927)—Russian histo-

rian and publicist; joined the R.S.D.L.P. early in 1905, adhered to the Bolsheviks for a time; in the period of reaction (1907-10) and the new revolutionary upswing became one of the ideological leaders of liquidationism.—77, 81, 99, 244

Rozmirovich, Yelena Fyodorovna (Troyanovskaya) (1886-1953)—member of the R.S.D.L.P. from 1904. While living abroad as a political emigrant she fulfilled various assignments of the Central Committee Bureau Abroad, was a confidential agent of the C.C.—101, 110

Rudakov, I. G. (1883-1937)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1905. After the October Socialist Revolution held responsible posts in the national economy.—252

Ryazanov, David Borisovich (1870-1938)—the Director of the Institute of Marx and Engels.—305

Rykov, Alexei Ivanovich (1881-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1899. In the period of reaction (1907-10) adopted a conciliatory attitude towards the liquidators, otzovists and Trotskyists. After the bourgeois-democratic revolution of February 1917 opposed the Party line of socialist revolution. After the October Socialist Revolution held various responsible posts. On many occasions opposed the Party's Leninist policy. For his anti-Party activities was expelled from the C.P.S.U.(B.) in 1937.—153, 195, 236

S

Samoilov, Fyodor Nikitich (1882-1952)—active participant in the revolutionary movement, textile worker, member of the Bolshevik group in the Fourth Duma.—98

Sapozhnikov, Alexei Vasilyevich (1868-1935)—prominent chemist.—157, 159

Savostin, M. M. (died 1924)—antiquarian.—180, 194

Scheidemann, Philipp (1865-1939)—a leader of the German Social-Democrats, extreme opportunist. Head of the German borgeois government from February to June 1919, one of the organisers of the brutal suppression of the German working-class movement in 1918-21.—130

Schippel, Max (1859-1928)—German Social-Democrat, revisionist.—68

Schmidt, D. A.—member of the Hermitage Board.—127

Schopenhauer, Arthur (1788-1860)—German subjective idealist philosopher.—271

Semashko, Nikolai Alexandrovich (1874-1949)—professional revolutionary, Bolshevik, prominent figure in the Soviet state. People's Commissar for Public Health (1918-30).—22, 23, 158, 161, 162, 234

Semevsky, V. I. (1848-1916)—Russian historian, exponent of the Narodnik tendencies in Russian historiography.—213

Semyonovsky, D. N. (1894-1960)—Russian poet, from 1918 contributed to the Ivanovo-Voznesensk paper *Rabochy Krai*.—234

Shahumyan, Stepan Georgiyevich (1878-1918)—active member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state.—340

Shagov, Nikolai Romanovich (1882-1918)—worker, member of the Bolshevik Party; Deputy to the Fourth Duma.—98

Shaw, George Bernard (1856-1950)—Irish dramatist and publicist.—203, 204

Shklovskaya, Natalya.—133

Shlyapnikov, Alexander Gavrilovich (1885-1937)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1901; during the First World War engaged in Party work in Petrograd and abroad; was liaison man between the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee offices in Russia and abroad.—220, 221

Shnitnikov, N. N. (born 1861)—Popular Socialist, in 1905-06 was one of the sponsors of the "Union of the Unions", an organisation of bourgeois intellectuals whose aim was to divert the proletariat from the revolutionary struggle.—213

Sienkiewicz, Henryk (1846-1916)—Polish novelist.—24

Singer, Paul (1844-1911)—one of the leaders and organisers of the German Social-Democratic Party, August Bebel's comrade-in-arms.—257, 337

Sklyansky, Efraim Markovich (1892-1925)—member of the Party from 1913. Deputy People's Commissar for Military Affairs and Deputy Chairman of the Republic's Revolutionary Military Council (September 1918-1924).—197

Skorokhodov, P. A.—287

Skvortsov-Stepanov, Ivan Ivanovich (1870-1928)—prominent figure in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state, writer, historian, economist.—98-99, 244, 301

Smirnov (*Gurevich, Emmanuil Lvovich*) (born 1865)—Menshevik, became a liquidator in 1910 and a social-chauvinist during the First World War.—220

Smirnov, Alexander Petrovich (*Foma-Piterets*) (1877-1938)—joined the Social-Democratic movement in 1896, was repeatedly persecuted by the tsarist government.—103

Socrates (c. 469-c. 399 B. C.)—Ancient Greek idealist philosopher, ideologist of the slave-owning aristocracy.—257, 280, 287

Soikin, Pyotr Petrovich (1862-1932)—publisher and bookseller.—191

Spadaro, Giovanni.—272

Speransky, Alexei Dmitriyevich (1888-1961)—Soviet physiologist and physician, member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences.—326

Stalin, Joseph Vissarionovich (1879-1953).—340

Stark, Leonid Nikolayevich (1899-1943)—Bolshevik, a writer who contributed to the magazine *Prosveshcheniye*; in 1913 lived on Capri.—107

Stassova, Yelena Dmitriyevna (1873-1966)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898. Secretary of the Party Central Committee from February 1917 to March 1920, later held various responsible Party post.—175

Steklov, Vladimir Andreyevich (1863-1926)- Soviet mathematician, member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences.—199, 276. 282

Steklov, Yuri Mikhailovich (1873-1941)—professional revolutionary, took part in the Social-Democratic movement from 1893; in the period of reaction (1907-10) and the new revolutionary upswing contributed to Bolshevik publications.—71

Stepun, F. A. (1884-1965)— a white émigré writer.—255

Stolypin, Pyotr Arkadyevich (1862-1911)—Russian statesman, big landowner; Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister for the

Interior (1906-11). Associated with his name is the period of fierce political reaction.—73

Stomonyakov, Boris Spiridonovich (1882-1941)—member of the R.S.D.L.P. from 1902. Trade representative of Soviet Russia in Berlin (1920 25).—236, 237

Strasser, Joseph (born 1871)—Austrian Social-Democrat.—103

Stroyev. See *Desnitsky, V. A.*

Struve, Pyotr Berngardovich (1870-1944)—bourgeois publicist and economist, one of the leaders of the Constitutional-Democratic Party.—121, 122, 220

Suvorov, S. A. (1869-1918)—Russian Social-Democrat, writer and statistician. In the period of reaction (1907-10) joined the Machists who organised a campaign against Marxist philosophy.—32

Svyatopolk-Mirsky, Pyotr Dmitriyevich (1857-1914)—Russian statesman, big landowner, Octobrist, Minister for the Interior in 1904 and early 1905.—213

Sysoika. See *Bogdanov, A. A.*

T

Taratuta, Victor Konstantinovich (Victor) (1881-1926)—Bolshevik, active participant in the 1905-07 revolution.—45

Teodorovich, Ivan Adolfovich (1875-1940)—began his revolutionary activity in 1895; from 1920—member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture.—236

Ter-Petrosyan, S. A. (Kamo) (1882-1922)—professional revolutionary, member of the R.S.D.L.P. from 1901.—189

Tikhonov, Alexander Nikolayevich (1880-1956)—Russian writer, took an active part in a number of publications sponsored by Maxim Gorky.—90, 92, 95, 96, 98, 171, 172, 200, 202, 246, 254

Tolstoi, Lev Nikolayevich (1828-1910)—Russian writer.—41, 66, 67, 249, 253, 288, 297

Tomsky, Mikhail Pavlovich (1880-1936)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904, in 1907 became a member of the St. Petersburg Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.; member of the *Proletary* Editorial Board; attended the Fifth (London) Party Congress. In 1928-29 was a leader of the Right-wing opportunist deviation in the Party.—261, 262

Tonkov, Vladimir Nikolayevich (1872-1954)—prominent Soviet anatomist; Chief of the Military Medical Academy (1917-25).—149, 199

Trepov, Dmitry Fyodorovich (1855-1906)—Chief of the Moscow Police (1896-1905), from January 1905 Governor-General of St. Petersburg, invested with dictatorial powers; cruelly suppressed the 1905 revolution.—212

Tria. See *Mgeladze, V. D.*

Trilisser, David Abramovich (1884-1934)—member of the R.S.D.L.P. from 1902, took an active part in the 1905 revolution and in the Great October Revolution of 1917; from 1920, Secretary of the Petrograd Gubernia Executive Committee.—175

Troinitsky, S. N.—member of the Hermitage Board.—127

Trotsky, Lev Davidovich (1879-1940)—Russian Social-Democrat, Menshevik. In 1912 organised the anti-Party August bloc. After the bourgeois-democratic revolution of February 1917 returned to Russia from emigration and

was admitted to the Bolshevik Party.
After the October Socialist Revolution held various responsible posts. In 1923 came out against the Party policy. Expelled from the C.P.S.U.(B.) in 1927 for anti-Party activity and in 1929 deported from the USSR as an enemy of Soviet power.—29, 30, 57, 60, 66, 234, 245, 292

Troyanovskaya. See *Rozmirovich.*

Troyanovsky, Alexander Antonovich (1882-1955)—member of the R.S.D.L.P. from 1907. Emigrated from Russia in 1910, lived in Switzerland, Paris and Vienna. Returned to Russia in 1917; held military posts and was in the diplomatic service.—94, 101

Tskhakaya, Mikha (1865-1950)—professional revolutionary, veteran member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.—340

Tsyurupa, Alexander Dmitriyevich (1870-1928)—professional revolutionary, prominent figure in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state. From 1921, Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and of the Council of Labour and Defence.—234

Tulyakov, Ivan Nikitich (born 1877)—a workman, Social-Democrat, Menshevik, Deputy to the Fourth Duma.—108

Turgenev, Ivan Sergeyevich (1818-1883)—Russian writer.—165

U

Ulyanov, Dmitry Ilyich (1874-1943)—Lenin's younger brother, professional revolutionary, Bolshevik physician.—58, 215

Ulyanova, Maria Alexandrovna (1835-1916)—Lenin's mother.—21, 46, 58, 215

Ulyanova, Maria Ilyinichna (Manyasha) (1878-1937)—Lenin's sister, prominent figure in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state.—214, 240, 315, 316

V

Veresayev, Vikenty Vikentyevich (1867-1945)—Russian writer.—244

Vernadsky, Vladimir Ivanovich—Soviet mineralogist and geochemist.—199

Victor. See *Taratuta, V. K.*

Vigdorchik, Pavel.—272

Vilonov, Nikifor Yefremovich (Mikhail) (1883-1910)—Bolshevik, one of the organisers of the Party school on Capri. Realising the anti-Party nature of the school he broke with the factionalists and, on Lenin's invitation, left for Paris at the head of a group of students.—48, 50, 52

Vodovozov, Vasily, Vasilyevich (1864-1933)—economist and publicist of a Narodnik trend.—67

Voigt, Oskar (born 1870)—German scientist, specialised in neurology.—313

Voitinsky, V. S. (born 1885)—joined the Bolsheviks early in 1905. Following the bourgeois-democratic revolution of February 1917 became a Menshevik, then emigrated from Russia.—114

Volny, Ivan (Volnov, Ivan Yegorovich) (1885-1931)—Russian writer, member of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, renounced his political delusions soon after the victory of the October Socialist Revolution.—135, 136, 285

Volsky, Stanislav (Sokolov, A. V.) (born 1880)—Social-Democrat. Joined the Bolsheviks after the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. During the years of reaction (1907-10) and the new revolutionary upswing he became one of the leaders of otzovism, took part in the organisation and work of factional schools on Capri and in Bologna, member of the anti-Party Vperyod group.—91

Vorobyov, L. P. (1885-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1906, took part in preparing the revolt of the Sveaborg garrison, after the October Revolution held various posts in the national economy.—175

Voronsky, A. K. (1884-1943)—literary critic.—303

Vorovsky, Vatslav Vatslavovich (1871-1923)—prominent figure in the Communist Party, literary critic, Soviet diplomat. Chief and Chairman of the Editorial Board of the State Publishing House (Gosizdat), 1919-20.—155, 165, 259, 266

W

Waldhauer, O. F.—member of the Hermitage Board.—127

Weiner, P. P.—member of the Hermitage Board.—127

Weiss—191

Wells, Herbert George (1866-1946)—English novelist and publicist.—159, 203, 204, 251

Witte, Sergei Yulyevich (1849-1915)—tsarist Russia's statesman, took part in organising the suppression of the 1905-07 revolution.—83

Y

Yaremich—member of the Hermitage Board.—127

Yekaterina Pavlovna. See *Peshkova, Y. P.*

Yelizarova-Ulyanova, Anna Ilyinichna (1864-1935)—prominent figure in the Communist Party, Lenin's sister.—46

Yermolayev, K. M. (*Roman*) (1884-1919)—Russian Social-Democrat, Menshevik; joined the liquidators in the period of reaction (1907-10). One of the sixteen Menshevik who, in 1910, signed the "Open Letter" calling for the dissolution of the Party.—55

Yudenich, Nikolai Nikolayevich (1862-1933)—tsarist general. During the Civil War and foreign military intervention (1918-20) commanded the counter-revolutionary forces in the North-West of Russia. His troops threatened Petrograd but were finally defeated in December 1918.—163, 310

Yuri. See *Bronstein, P. A.*

Yushkevich, Pavel Solomonovich (1873-1945)—Russian Social-Democrat, Menshevik, his philosophical views were close to positivism and pragmatism; in the years of reaction (1907-10) stood for a revision of the Marxist philosophy and tried to substitute for it "empirio-symbolism" (a variation of Machism).—33

Z

Zaks, S. M. (*Gladnev*)—publishing-house worker; in 1920 was a consultant on cultural questions at the Council of People's Commissars.—177, 191

Zetkin, Clara (1857-1933)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, one of the founders of the German Communist Party.—74

Zhitlovsky, Khaim Iosifovich (1865-1943)—prominent figure in the Jewish petty-bourgeois nationalist movement, was closely connected with the Socialist-Revolutionaries, emigrated to America in the 1890s.—259

Zhizhin, I. I. (1892-1933)—poet, contributed to the Ivanovo-Voznesensk newspaper *Rabochy Krai* from 1918.—234

Zubatov, Sergei Vasilyevich (1864-1917)—gendarme colonel, initiator and organiser—of "police socialism" (Zubatovism); founded police-sponsored workers' unions, with the aim of diverting the workers from the revolutionary struggle.—212

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